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A QUARTERLY REVIEW

OF

MYTH, TRADITION, INSTITUTION, & CUSTOM

BEING

THE TRANSACTIONS OF THE FOLK-LORE SOCIETY

And Incorporating THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL REVIEW *and*
THE FOLK-LORE JOURNAL

VOL. XXVIII.—1917

Alter et Idem

15 3312
20/11/19.

LONDON:

PUBLISHED FOR THE FOLK-LORE SOCIETY BY

SIDGWICK & JACKSON, LTD., 3 ADAM ST., ADELPHI, W.C.

1917

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GLASGOW: PRINTED AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS
BY ROBERT MACLEHOSE AND CO. LTD.

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1896. Singer, Professor, 2 Lanpenstrasse, Bern, Switzerland
1907. Singh, H. H. The Raja Sir Bhuri, Chamba, viâ Dalhousie, Punjab, per King, King & Co., Bombay.
1913. Smith, Prof. John A., Magdalen College, Oxford.
1893. Spoer, Mrs. H. Hamish, F.R.S.G.S., Box 104 Austrian P.O., Jerusalem.
1899. Starr, Professor Frederick, University of Chicage, Chicage, U.S.A. (*Hon. Member*).
1909. Steinitzer, H., Esq., 8/1 Wilhelm Strasse, Munich, Germany.
1909. Stephenson, R. H., Esq., St. Saviour's Road East, Leicester.
1916. Stevenson, Mrs. Sinclair, M.A., D.Sc., Mission House, Ahmedabad, India.
1897. Stow, Mrs., c/o Bakewell, Stow & Piper, Cowra Chambers, Grenfell Street, Adelaide, S. Australia.

1909. Sullivan, W. G., Esq., B.A., 1545 N. Meridian Street, Indianapolis, Ind., U.S.A.

1889. Tabor, C. J., Esq., The White House, Knotts Green, Leyton, Essex (*Hon. Auditor*).
1885. Temple, Lieut.-Col. Sir R. C., Bart., C.I.E., F.R.G.S., The Nash, Worcester.
c. 1896. Thomas, N. W., Esq., M.A., Bradstow, Birchington-on-Sea.
1912. Thompson, T. W., Esq., M.A., F.C.S., Kenilworth, Scatcherd Lane, Morley, Yorks.
1911. Thompson, W. B., Esq., United University Club, Pall Mall East, S.W. 1.
1910. Thurnwald, Dr. R., Friedrich-Wilhelmshafen, German New Guinea.
1913. Thurstan, Edgar, Esq., C.I.E., Cumberland Lodge, Kew, Surrey.
1910. Torday, E., Esq., 40 Lansdowne Crescent, W. 11.
1911. Torr, Miss Dona, Carlett Park, Eastham, Cheshire.
1897. Townshend, Mrs. R. B., 117 Banbury Road, Oxford.
1887. Travancore, H.H. The Maharajah of, Huzur, Cutcherry, Trivandrum, India.
1888. Turnbull, A. H., Esq., Elibank, Wellington, New Zealand, per A. L. Elder & Co., 7 St. Helen's Place, E.C.

1878. Udal, His Honour J. S., F.S.A., 2 Marlboro' Hill, N.W. 8.
1913. Urquhart, F. F., Esq., Balliol College, Oxford.

1915. Vines, T. H., Esq., M.A., Sind Madrasah, Karrachi, India, per Cox & Co., Charing Cross, S.W.
1916. Vowles, Miss A. C., Old Lawn Cottage, Suffley, Gloucester.

1917. Waddell, Lt.-Col. W. A., 33 The Park, North End Road, Hampstead, N.W. 3.
1910. Webster, Prof. Hutton, University of Nebraska, Station A, Lincoln, Nebraska, U.S.A.
1910. Weeks, The Rev. J. H., 61 Lucien Rd., Tooting Common, S.W. 17.
1915. Weinberg, H. J., Esq., The Park, North Rd., Nottingham.
1915. Weinberg, Mrs. M., Hardwick Ho., The Park, Nottingham.
1906. Westermarck, Prof. E., Ph.D., Woodman's Cottage, Box Hill, Dorking.
1897. Weston, Miss J. L., Lyceum Club, Piccadilly, W.; 24 Rue de la Ville, l'Eveque, Paris, VIII^{e}.
1910. Westropp, T. J., Esq., 115 Strand Rd., Sandymount, Dublin.
1917. Wickwar, J. W., Esq., 81 Kilmartin Avenue, Norbury, S.W. 16.
1890. Williamson, The Rev. C. A., Cold Ashton Rectory, Chippenham.
1916. Willis, Miss Nina de L., 6 Curzon St., Mayfair, W. 1.
1893. Windle, Sir B. C. A., M.D., F.R.S., President's House, Queen's College, Cork.

1911. Wingate, Mrs. J. S., Talas, Cesarea, Turkey-in-Asia.
c. 1893. Wissendorff, H., Esq., 19 Nadeschkinskara, St. Petersburg, Russia.
1909. Woolsey, J. M., Esq.
1917. Wordsworth, Principal W. C., Presidency College, Calcutta.
1890. Wright, A. R., Esq., F.S.A., H.M. Patent Office, 25 Southampton Buildings, Chancery Lane, W.C. 2 (*Vice-President*).

1917. Yetts, Major W. Perceval, Junior United Service Club, London, S.W 1.

SUBSCRIBERS (*corrected to 30th Nov.*, 1916).

1893. Aberdeen Public Library, per G. M. Fraser, Esq., M.A., Librarian.
1894. Aberdeen University Library, per P. J. Anderson, Esq., Librarian.
1902. Adelaide Public Library, South Australia, per Kegan Paul & Co., Broadway House, Carter Lane, E.C.
1916. American Academy in Rome, Porta San Pancrazie, Rome, Italy, per A. W. Van Burren, Esq.
1917. American Museum of Natural History, 77th Street and Central Park West, New York, U.S.A., per Fred. H. Smyth, Esq.
1891. Amsterdam, The University Library of, per Kirberger & Kesper, Booksellers, Amsterdam.
1879. Antiquaries, The Society of, Burlington House, W.
1905. Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1 Park Street, Calcutta, per B. Quaritch, 11 Grafton, Street, W.

1914. Baillie's Institution, Glasgow, per J. B. Douglas, Esq., 203 West George St., Glasgow.
1881. Berlin Royal Library, per Asher & Co., 14 Bedford St., Covent Garden, W.C.
1880. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, per Simpkin, Marshall & Co., 31 and 32 Paternoster Row, E.C.
1884. Birmingham Free Library, Ratcliffe Place, Birmingham, per W. Powell, Esq.
1882. Birmingham Library, c/o The Treasurer, Margaret St., Birmingham.
1908. Bishopsgate Institute, Bishopsgate St. Without, E.C., per C. W. F Goss, Esq., Librarian.
1899. Bordeaux University Library, per Simpkin, Marshall & Co., 4 Stationers' Hall Court, E.C.
1878. Boston Athenæum, Boston, U.S.A., per E. G. Allen & Son, Ld., 14 Grape St., W.C.
1881. Boston Public Library, Mass., U.S.A., per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.

1902. Bradford Free Public Library, Darley St., Bradford, per Butler Wood, Esq.
1894. Brighton Free Library, per H. D. Roberts, Esq., Chief Librarian, Brighton.
1906. Bristol Central Library, per E. R. Norris Mathews, Esq., F.R. Hist. Soc.
1909. Brooklyn Public Library, per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.

1905. California State Library, Sacramento, California, per B. F. Stevens & Brown, 4 Trafalgar Square, W.C.
1908. California, University of, Berkeley, Cal., U.S.A., per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.
1898. Cardiff Free Libraries, per J. Ballinger, Esq.
1915. Carnegie Free Library for Allegheny, Pittsburgh, Pa., U.S.A., per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.
(2)1904. Carnegie Library, Pittsburg, per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C
1898. Chelsea Public Library, Manresa Road, S.W., per J. H. Quinn, Esq.
1890. Chicago Public Library, Illinois, U.S.A., per B. F. Stevens & Brown, 4 Trafalgar Square, W.C.
1898 Chicago University Library, Illinois, U.S.A., per B. F. Stevens & Brown, 4 Trafalgar Square, W.C.
1890. Cincinnati Public Library, per B. F. Stevens & Brown, 4 Trafalgar Square, W.C.
1914. Cochin State Museum, Trichur, S. India, per The Curator, L. K. A. Krishna Iyer, Esq.
1894. Columbia College, New York, per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.
1879. Congress, The Library of, Washington, U.S.A., per E. G. Allen & Son, 14 Grape St., Shaftesbury Avenue, W.C.
1890. Cornell University Library, per E. G. Allen & Son, 14 Grape St., Shaftesbury Avenue, W.C.

1890. Detroit Public Library, Michigan, U.S.A., per B. F. Stevens & Brown, 4 Trafalgar Square, W.C.
1906. Dundee Free Library, per A. H. Millar, Esq., LL.D., Albert Institute, Dundee.

1894. Edinburgh Public Library, per Hew Morrison, Esq., City Chambers, Edinburgh.
1890. Enoch Pratt Library, Baltimore City, U.S.A., per E. G. Allen & Son, 14 Grape St., Shaftesbury Avenue, W.C.
1893. Erlangen University Library, per W. Dawson & Sons, St. Dunstan's House, Fetter Lane, E.C.

1911. Fulham Public Library, Fulham Rd., S.W., per W. S. Rae, Esq., Librarian.

1901. Giessen University Library, per E. G. Allen & Son, 14 Grape St., W.C.
1883. Glasgow University Library, per J. MacLehose & Sons, 61 St. Vincent St., Glasgow.
1902. Gloucester Public Library, Gloucester, per Roland Austin, Esq.
1878. Göttingen University Library, per Asher & Co., 14 Bedford St., Covent Garden, W.C.
1905. Grand Rapids Public Library, per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.
1892. Guildhall Library, E.C., per Bernard Kettle, Esq., Librarian.
1898. Guille-Allès Library, Guernsey, B. Rowsell, Esq., Librarian.

1878. Harvard College Library, per E. G. Allen & Son, 14 Grape St., W.C.
1904. Helsingfors University Library.
1904. Hiersemann, K., 3 Königstrasse, Leipzig.
1896. Howard Memorial Library, New Orleans, U.S.A., per W. Beer, Esq.
1902. Hull Public Libraries, per W. F. Lawton, Esq.

1911. Illinois University Library, Urbana, Ill., U.S.A., per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.
1892. Imperial University Library, St. Petersburg, per G. Routledge & Sons, Broadway Ho., Carter Lane, E.C.
1895. India Office Library, Whitehall, S.W., per F. W. Thomas, Esq.
1901. Institut de France, per Simpkin, Marshall & Co., 31 and 32 Paternoster Row, E.C.
1899. Iowa State Library, Des Moines, Iowa, U.S.A., per B. F. Stevens & Brown, 4 Trafalgar Square, W.C.

1904. Jersey City Free Public Library, New Jersey, per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.
1907. Johannesburg Public Library, per J. F. Cadenhead, Esq., Johannesburg, S. Africa.
1895. John Rylands Library, Deansgate, Manchester, per The Librarian.
1879. Johns Hopkins University Library, Baltimore, per E. G. Allen & Son, 14 Grape St., Shaftesbury Avenue, W.C.

1911. Kansas Public Library, Kansas City, Mo., U.S.A., per Mr. Purd. B. Wright, Librarian.
1905. Kensington Public Libraries, per H. Jones, Esq., Central Library, Kensington, W.

1892. Leicester Literary and Philosophical Society, per J. A. Hopps, Esq., 25 Friar Lane, Leicester.

1903. Leland Stanford Junior University Library, Stanford University, Cal., U S.A., per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.
1885. Library of the Supreme Council of the 33°, etc., 10 Duke Street, St. James', S.W., per J. C. F. Tower, Esq., Secretary.
1899. Liverpool Free Public Library, per Peter Cowell, Esq., Chief Librarian, William Brown St., Liverpool.
1879. London Library, St. James's Square, S.W.
1904. Los Angeles Public Library, California, U.S.A., per E. Steiger & Co., New York.
1910. Lund University Library, per Karl af Petersens, Librarian.

1917. M'Gill University Library, Montreal, Quebec, per International News Co., 5 Bream's Buildings, W.C. 2.
1913. Malvern Public Library, per The Librarian, Graham Road, Malvern.
1878. Manchester Free Library, King St., Manchester.
1897. Max, J., & Co., 21 Schweidnitzerstrasse, Breslau.
1902. Meadville Theological School Library, Meadville, Pa., U.S.A., per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.
1904. Mercantile Library of St. Louis, U.S.A., per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.
1893. Meyrick Library, Jesus College, Oxford, per E. E. Genner, Esq., Librarian.
1902. Michigan State Library, Lansing, Michigan, U.S.A., per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.
1907. Michigan University Library, Ann Arbor, Michigan, U.S.A.
1881. Middlesborough Free Library, per Baker Hudson, Esq.
1905. Minneapolis Athenæum Library, per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.
1894. Minnesota, University of, Minneapolis, U.S.A., per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.
1878. Mitchell Library, North St., Glasgow, c/o F. T. Barrett, Esq., Librarian (per J. D. Borthwick, Esq., City Chamberlain).
1880. Munich Royal Library, per Asher & Co., 14 Bedford St., W.C.
1909. Museo di Etnographia Italiana, Pallazo Delle Scuola, Piazzi D'Armi, Rome, Italy, per Dr. Giovanni Ferri, 54 Via Crescenzio, Rome.

1904. Nancy, Université de, Nancy, France, per M. Paul Perdrizet.
1894. National Library of Ireland, per Hodges, Figgis & Co., 104 Grafton St., Dublin.
1908. Nebraska University Library, Lincoln, Nebraska, U.S.A., per Simpkin, Marshall & Co.
1898. Newark Free Public Library, New Jersey, U.S.A., per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.

1888. Newberry Library, Chicago, U.S.A., per B. F. Stevens & Brown, 4 Trafalgar Square, W.C.
1879. Newcastle Literary and Philosophical Society, Newcastle-on-Tyne, per H. Richardson, Esq.
1898. New Jersey, The College of, Princeton, N.J., U.S.A., per H. A. Duffield, Esq., Treasurer.
1894. New York, College of the City of, per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.
1898. New York Public Library (Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundation), per B. F. Stevens & Brown, 4 Trafalgar Square, W.C.
1894. New York State Library, per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.
1913. Nordiska, Museet, Stockholm, 14, Sweden, per Visen Lewin, Esq.
1911. North Staffordshire Field Club, per J. R. Masefield, Esq., Roxhill, Cheadle, Staffs.
1908. North Western University Library, Evanston, Ill., per B. F. Stevens & Brown, 4 Trafalgar Square, W.C.
1883. Nottingham Free Public Library, per J. E. Bryan, Esq., St. Peter's Churchside, Nottingham.

1911. Oriental Institute, Vladivostock, per Luzac & Co., 46 Gt. Russell St., W.C.
1894. Oxford and Cambridge Club, per Harrison & Sons, 45 Pall Mall, S.W.

1881. Peabody Institute, Baltimore, U.S.A., per E. G. Allen & Son, 14 Grape St., Shaftesbury Avenue, W.C.
1909. Pennsylvania University Museum, Philadelphia, Pa., U.S.A., per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.
1894. Peorio, Public Library of.
1899. Philadelphia, Free Library of, per B. F. Stevens & Brown, 4 Trafalgar Square, W.C.
1881. Philadelphia, The Library Company of, U.S.A., per E. G. Allen & Son, 14 Grape St., Shaftesbury Avenue, W.C.
1879. Plymouth Institution and Devon and Cornwall Natural History Society.
1903. Portsmouth Public Library, per A. E. Bone, Esq., Borough Treasurer.
1894. Providence Public Library, per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.
1900. Reading Free Public Library, per W. H. Greenhough, Esq.
1894. Röhrscheid, L., Buchhandlung, Am Hof, 28, Bonn, Germany.
1908. Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay, per Kegan Paul & Co., Broadway House, Carter Lane, E.C.
1894. Royal Irish Academy, per Hodges, Figgis & Co., 104 Grafton St., Dublin.

1898. Salford Public Library, Manchester.
1908. San Francisco (Hayes and Franklin States) Public Library, per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.
1916. Schweiz-Gesellschaft für Volkskunde, per Dr. E. Hoffmann Krayer 44 Hirzbodenweg, Basel, Switzerland.
1907. Seattle Public Library, Seattle, Washington, U.S.A., per B. F. Stevens & Brown, 4 Trafalgar Square, S.W.
1899. Sheffield Free Public Library, Surrey Street, Sheffield, per S. Smith, Esq.
1898. Signet Library, Edinburgh, per John Minto, Esq., Librarian.
1905. Sion College Library, Victoria Embankment, E.C., per C. Thomas, Esq., Sub-Librarian.
1913. Société Jersiaise, per F. J. Bois, Esq., 9 Pier Rd., St. Heliers, Jersey.
1879. Stockholm, Royal Library of, per W. H. Dawlson & Sons, St. Dunstan's House, Fetter Lane, E.C.
1916. Stretford Urban District Council Library, Old Trafford, Manchester, per G. H. Abrahams, Esq.
1903. Sunderland Public Library, Borough Road, Sunderland, per B. R. Hill, Esq.
1894. Surgeon General Office Library, Washington, D.C., U.S.A., per Kegan Paul & Co., Broadway House, Carter Lane, E.C.
1908. Swarthmore College Library, per E. G. Allen & Son, 14 Grape St., Shaftesbury Avenue, W.C.
1881. Sydney Free Public Library, per Truslove & Hanson, 153 Oxford St., W.

1895. Tate Library, University College, Liverpool, care of J. Sampson, Esq.
1883. Taylor Institution, Oxford, per Parker & Co., Broad Street, Oxford.
1906. Texas, University of, Austin, Texas, U.S.A., per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.
1898. Toronto Public Library, per C. D. Cazenove & Son, 26 Henrietta St., Covent Garden, W.C.
1899. Toronto University Library, per C. D. Cazenove & Son, 26 Henrietta St., Covent Garden, W.C.
1879. Torquay Natural History Society, per Geo. Lee, Esq., Curator, The Museum, Torquay.

1899. Upsala University Library, per C. J. Lundström, Upsala, Sweden.

1896. Van Stockum, W. P., & Son, 36 Buitenhof, The Hague, Holland.
899. Vassar College Library, Poughkeepsie, New York, U.S.A., per H. Sotheran & Co., 140 Strand, W.C.
1907. Victoria Public Library, Melbourne, per Agent-General for Victoria, Melbourne Pace, Strand, W.C.

1909. Vienna Imperial Court Library, per Asher & Co., 14 Bedford St., W.C.
1901. Vienna Imperial University Library, per Asher & Co., 14 Bedford St., W.C.

1910. Washington Public Library, D.C., Washington, U.S.A., per G. F. Bowerman, Esq., Secretary.
1910. Washington University Library, St. Louis, per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.
1890. Watkinson Library, Hartford, Connecticut, U.S.A., per E. G. Allen & Son, 14 Grape St., Shaftesbury Avenue, W.C.
1898. Weimar Grand Ducal Library, per Dr. P. von Bojanowsky.
1916. Wellcome Historical Medical Museum, 54A Wigmore St., W.
1916. Wellesley College Library, Wellesley, Mass., U.S.A.
1907. Wesleyan University, Library of, Middletown, Connecticut, U.S.A., per W. J. James, Esq., Librarian.
1898. Wisconsin State Historical Society, per H. Sotheran & Co., 140 Strand, W.C.
1908. Woolwich Free Library, William St., Woolwich, per E. B. Baker, Esq., Librarian,

1905. Yale University Library, New Haven, Connecticut, U.S.A., per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.

Folk-Lore.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE FOLK-LORE SOCIETY.

VOL. XXVIII.] MARCH, 1917. [No. I.

EVENING MEETINGS.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 20th, 1916.

MR. M. LONGWORTH DAMES IN THE CHAIR.

THE minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The election of M. Milan Maizner, M. Paul Popovitch, and Mr. S. Ishii as members of the Society and the enrolment of the Stretford Urban District Council and the American Academy in Rome as subscribers was announced.

The death in action of Capt. T. I. W. Wilson, the death of Mr. David Howard, and the resignation of Miss C. K. Coleridge were also announced.

Mr. E Lovett gave some notes on "The Folklore of London," and delivered a lecture on "A Toy Museum for Children," which was illustrated by lantern slides. In the discussion which followed, Miss Canziani, Dr. Hoyle, Mrs. Scoresby Routledge, and the Chairman took part.

The meeting terminated with a hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Lovett for his lecture.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 17th, 1917.

THE PRESIDENT (DR. R. R. MARETT) IN THE CHAIR.

THE minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The death of Sir E. B. Tylor, a Vice-President of the Society and one of its original members, was announced.

Mr. S. Ishii read a paper on "The Life of the Mountain People in Formosa," which was profusely illustrated by lantern slides. In the discussion which followed, the Chairman, Miss Broadwood, Mr. Anderson, Mrs. Lake, Mrs. Scoresby Routledge, and His Honour J. S. Udal took part.

The meeting terminated with a hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Ishii for his paper.

THIRTY-NINTH ANNUAL MEETING.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 21st, 1917.

THE PRESIDENT (DR. R. R. MARETT) IN THE CHAIR.

THE minutes of the last Annual Meeting were read and confirmed.

The report of the Council, with the Cash Account and Balance Sheet for the year 1916, duly audited, and the Report of the Brand Committee, were presented to the meeting, and, on the motion of Dr. Gaster, seconded by His Honour J. S. Udal, it was resolved that the same be received and adopted.

The following were duly elected to hold office for the ensuing year, viz.:

As *President*—R. R. Marett, M.A., D.Sc.

As *Vice-Presidents*—The Hon. J. Abercromby; Sir E. W. Brabrook, C.B.; Miss Charlotte S. Burne, Edward Clodd;

W. Crooke, B.A.; Sir J. G. Frazer, D.C.L., LL.D.; M. Gaster, Ph.D.; A. C. Haddon, D.Sc., F.R.S.; E. S. Hartland, F.S.A.; W. H. D. Rouse, Litt.D.; The Rev. Professor A. H. Sayce, LL.D., and A. R. Wright, F.S.A.

As *Members of Council*—Mrs. M. M. Banks; G. R. Carline; M. Longworth Dames; Lady Gomme; P. J. Heather; W. L. Hildburgh, M.A., Ph.D.; T. C. Hodson; Miss Eleanor Hull; E. Lovett; A. F. Major; W. H. R. Rivers, M.D., F.R.S.; H. V. Routh; C. G. Seligman, M.D.; C. J. Tabor; His Honour J. S. Udal, F.S.A.; E. Westermarck, Ph.D.; H. B. Wheatley, F.S.A., D.C.L., and Sir B. C. A. Windle, F.R.S.

As *Hon. Treasurer*—Edward Clodd.

As *Hon. Auditor*—C. J. Tabor.

As *Editor of "Folk-Lore"*—W. Crooke, B.A.

The Chairman delivered his Presidential Address, entitled "The Psychology of Culture-Contact," for which a vote of thanks, moved by Dr. Gaster and seconded by Dr. Westermarck, was carried by acclamation.

THIRTY-NINTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

THE Council are glad to be able to state that, notwithstanding the continuance of the war, no less than nineteen new members and four new subscribers have been added to the roll of the Society during the past year. Of the sixteen members who have resigned, six accepted the Council's offer to retain their names upon the roll, and to forward them the quarterly parts of *Folk-Lore*, in the hope that they may be able to resume their subscriptions this year; and it is possible that some of them may withdraw their resignations.

The total number of members and subscribers upon the roll (including those in belligerent countries) now stands at 419, as against 418 a year ago, but, unfortunately, a larger number of subscriptions is in arrear.

The amount received in subscriptions during the year 1916 amounted to £372 4s. 6d., as compared with £390 12s. 6d. in 1915, so that there has been a further shrinkage of some £18. However, in the circumstances, the Society is to be congratulated on the soundness of its financial position.

It is with the deepest regret that the Council have to record the deaths of two of the original members of the Society, viz. Sir Laurence Gomme, who was so largely instrumental in its formation, and to whom its records are indebted for many valuable communications, and Sir E. B. Tylor, who was one of its most distinguished ornaments. The Society has also lost through death Mr. David

Howard, another of its oldest members, and Miss M. Roalfe Cox, to whom it is indebted for the collection of *Cinderella* variants published in 1892; while three members —Lieut. Elliott H. Crooke, Captain T. I. W. Wilson, a master at Repton, and Captain H. C. Gouldsbury, who was stationed in Northern Rhodesia—have fallen in action.

Meetings of the Society have been held as follows, viz.

19*th January.* "Mabinogion I." Professor Josef Baudîs.
16*th February.* (Annual Meeting.) Presidential Address: "Primitive Values." Dr. R. R. Marett.
15*th March.* "Some Characteristics of Irish Folklore." Miss Moutray Read.
12*th April.* "Masks and Origin of the Greek Drama." Dr. F. B. Jevons.
17*th May.* "Magical Uses of Fire." Miss Blackman.
21*st June.* "The Folklore of Shakespeare." Dr. Wheatley.
"Examples of Folk-Memory from Staffordshire." Mr. S. A. H. Burne.
15*th November.* "Bull Baiting and Bull Racing." Mr. W. Crooke.
20*th December.* "Notes on the Folklore of London" and "A Toy Museum for Children" (illustrated by lantern slides). Mr. E. Lovett.

Dr. Jevons' paper on the origin of the Greek drama was followed by a very interesting discussion, in which among others, Dr. Seligman, Sir J. G. Frazer, and Dr. Cook took part; and at the meeting in June an animated discussion on the credibility of traditional legends, suggested by Mr. Burne's paper, was opened by Mr. E. S. Hartland.

It is a matter for regret that no objects of folklore interest were shown at any of the meetings. It is hoped that members or friends possessing any such objects will exhibit them, even if only informally.

Most of the meetings were well attended, those in April, May and June being particularly so. Owing to the stringency of the lighting regulations, the meetings were held as in 1915 at 5 p.m., instead of 8 p.m.

Several additions have been made to the Society's Library during the year, particulars of which have been duly noted in *Folk-Lore.*

The President (who presided over Section H), Dr. Haddon, Dr. Rivers, Dr. Seligman, Mrs. Scoresby Routledge, Miss

Freire-Marreco and others represented the Society at the meeting of the British Association in September.

The twenty-seventh volume of *Folk-Lore* has been issued during the year. Owing to the increased cost of paper and labour, the Council have found it necessary to limit the size of the volume and to dispense with illustrations as far as possible. Nevertheless, they believe that it will be found to maintain its usual high standard of excellence. A deep debt of gratitude is due to Mr. Crooke for the work he has bestowed upon it, notwithstanding his recent bereavements. The Council are glad to have his assurance that he will continue to act as Editor during the coming year.

In the uncertain state of affairs due to the continuance of the war, the Council have been unable to come to any decision as to the issue of an additional volume for either of the years 1915 or 1916. They have recently had offered to them for publication a collection of folk-tales of Formosa made by Mr. S. Ishii, who has spent fifteen years in the island since its acquisition by Japan. This offer they have accepted provisionally. They have not yet decided for which year the folk-tales should be issued as an additional volume.

The work of the Brand Committee is making progress, though not such rapid progress as could be wished, owing to the increasing scarcity of voluntary workers. Additional paid labour will, therefore, be necessary if the work is to be completed within a reasonable period. The Council are fully alive to the importance of the work, which they feel ought to have a very prominent place in the activities of the Society. Miss Burne's services as Secretary to the Committee have been invaluable. The Council, on behalf of the Society, tender her and her co-workers their heartiest thanks.

The sales of the Society's publications have unfortunately fallen off during the year, but that was inevitable in view of the war. The relations of the Council with Messrs.

Sidgwick & Jackson, the Society's publishers, continue to be most satisfactory.

The Council desire once again to call attention to the fact that a considerable part of the salvage stock remains unsold. The volumes have been rebound and are in very fair condition. The price is 4s. per volume, carriage paid, with all faults. Mr. C. J. Tabor, The White House, Knotts Green, Leyton, will be very glad to hear from prospective purchasers.

The Cash Account and Balance Sheet for the year are submitted herewith.

R. R. MARETT,
President.

CASH ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDING 31ST DECEMBER, 1916.

RECEIPTS.

By Balance brought down,			£286 3 11
,, Subscriptions for 1916 (315),	£330 4 6		
,, ,, ,, 1915 and earlier years (31),	32 11 0		
,, ,, ,, 1917, in advance (9),	9 9 0		
		372 4 6	
,, Interest on Investments,	£27 11 3		
,, ,, Money on deposit,	7 9 9		
		35 1 0	
,, Sales of Stock,		39 10 4	
,, Affiliation Fees,		0 7 6	
,, Composition Fee,		10 10 0	
,, Income Tax returned,		5 5 0	
		£749 2 3	

EXPENDITURE.

To *Folk-Lore* :—			
Printing 3 parts, 1915, and Index,	£130 9 1		
,, 3 parts, 1916,	138 12 8		
		£275 1 9	
,, Expenses of Distribution of Publications,		21 2 11	
,, Publishers' Commission,		31 16 5	
,, Expenses of Meetings :—			
Hire of Rooms,	£7 4 0		
Lantern,	0 4 6		
Refreshments,	7 8 6		
Advertising,	1 16 2		
		16 13 2	
,, Binding of Stock,		8 6 5	
,, Expenses of Management :—			
Insurances,	£19 13 0		
Postages, Stationery, and Printing,	17 16 0		
Rent of Telephone,	2 12 9		
Warehousing Stock,	10 10 0		
Brand Committee,	31 9 7		
Secretary's Salary and Poundage,	60 0 0		
Miscellaneous,	3 11 11		
		145 10 0	
,, Balance in Bank on current account,	£44 16 2		
,, ,, ,, on deposit account,	200 0 0		
,, Petty Cash in hands of Secretary,	2 15 5		
		247 11 7	
		£749 2 3	

BALANCE SHEET, 31ST DECEMBER, 1916.

LIABILITIES.

To Sundry Creditors,		£113 3 1
,, Subscriptions paid in advance,		9 9 0
,, Composition Fees,	£30 11 0	
Less deductions,	7 7 0	
		23 4 0
,, Balance to credit of Society,*		1,225 12 0
		£1,371 8 1

ASSETS.

By Cash at Bankers,	£244 16 2		
,, ,, in hands of Secretary,	2 15 5		
			£247 11 7
,, Sundry Debtors,			9 11 0
,, Subscriptions in arrear, 1916 (50),	£61 6 0		
,, 1915 and earlier years (54),	56 14 6		
			118 13 6†
,, Investments at cost price: -			
£500 Canada, 3½% Stock,	£468 15 0		
£500 Natal, 3½% Stock,	446 17 6		
			905 12 6
			£1,371 8 1

In addition to the above there is a large stock of Publications of the Society, and also of bound volumes of the salvage stock, of which no account is taken.

* *N.B.*—No allowance has been made for an additional volume for either of the years 1915 or 1916.

† I do not consider that this sum should be taken into account as an available asset. In my opinion at least 75 per cent. of these subscriptions are irrecoverable, £47 5 0 being due from alien enemies.

Examined with Vouchers and Pass Book and found correct.

CHARLES J. TABOR, *Hon. Auditor.*

EDWARD CLODD, *Hon. Treasurer.*

January 1st, 1917.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON BRAND'S *POPULAR ANTIQUITIES*

(New Edition).

The Brand Committee have much pleasure in drawing the attention of the Council, and through them of the Society at large, to the new stage of the work which has been reached during the past year. A Classified Catalogue of the matter collected has been put in hand, and the portion relating to the Movable Feasts—that is to say, to the lunar months from Shrovetide to Whitsuntide—has already appeared in *Folk-Lore*. They feel assured that it will repay study, and will be found to throw many interesting sidelights on the way in which religious, economic, and social interests were intertwined in the lives of our forefathers. Further instalments dealing with the Solar Year, and beginning with the peculiarly interesting month of November, are in preparation. The Committee hope that members who notice any mistakes or omissions, either of customs or of localities, will not fail to communicate with them or with the Secretary at once, with a view to getting the error corrected.

The additional material collected during the year has been less than that of past years, partly owing to public and private hindrances to workers, but also to the fact that practically all published works mainly concerned with British folklore have now been dealt with. The year's work has therefore chiefly been devoted to gleanings from Dialect Glossaries, County Histories, Journals of Archaeological Societies, and other books which only include folk-

lore incidentally. Dr. T. E. Lones, working at the British Museum, has again given valuable help by preliminary examination of these for the guidance of readers. Considerable progress has been made towards covering the ground. The PUBLICATIONS OF THE CHETHAM SOCIETY, of which Miss Faraday some years since made a preliminary examination, are in the competent hands of Miss Dona Torr. It was found necessary to employ paid labour on the VARIA series of "Peter Lombard" (the late Canon Benham), which could only be consulted in the files of the *Church Times*, and which, as had been foreseen, has yielded a rich harvest. Among the principal local serials yet remaining to be read the *Transactions of the Woolhope Club* and *Fenland Notes and Queries* may be mentioned. The Committee will be glad to hear from any readers who will undertake them.

The Committee will also be grateful to any country members who will forward extracts from small Parochial Histories of places in their own neighbourhood. These usually give better results than the large County Histories; they are difficult to meet with in London, and so few of them have yet been dealt with that the senders need not fear their labour will be thrown away.

Notwithstanding the exertions of Miss Hull, Miss Moutray Read, and Sir Bertram Windle, Ireland still remains the weak spot in the collections. Doubtless public events have added to the difficulties already experienced there.

An interesting branch of the enquiry relates to old drawings and engravings illustrating popular customs. This has not been overlooked, and the Committee have under consideration the collection of information as to such contemporary representations. They already possess notes of some examples, and they hope to find much information in the collections made by the distinguished antiquary Francis Douce, now in the Bodleian Library. These

collections have lately been catalogued, and the Committee believe that the reproduction of some of these illustrations would greatly enhance the value of the new edition of Brand's *Popular Antiquities.*

The grant of £20 made to the Committee by the Society last year has been expended in ordinary clerical assistance, in research work at the Museum, and in typing the Classified Catalogue for printing. This last is sadly expensive in proportion to the means at command, but necessary if the printers' type is to be properly set up so as to display the classification clearly. Voluntary help in type-writing will be gladly accepted. The Committee beg to apply for an equal or, if possible, a larger sum in 1917.

Finally, they beg respectfully to observe that it is only by the whole-hearted co-operation of members that the undertaking can be carried out in a manner worthy of the subject and of our country.

(Signed) H. B. WHEATLEY.

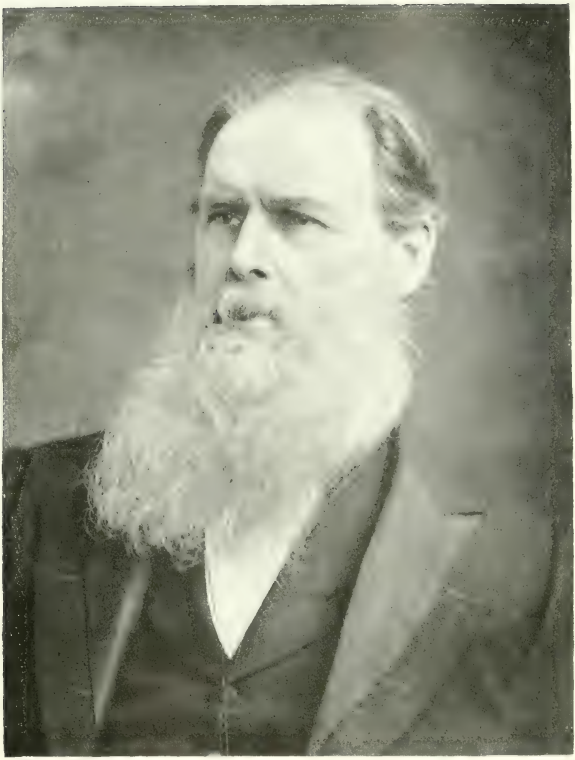

Photo. Elliott & Fry.

SIR EDWARD BURNETT TYLOR.

Photo. J. Russell & Sons.

SIR LAURENCE GOMME.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

The Psychology of Culture-Contact.

Sir Edward Tylor and Sir Laurence Gomme, two original members of this Society, have lately passed away. Both were master minds; and it would ill become me to venture to institute any comparison between them in respect of their intellectual calibre or the value of their work. If the one was perhaps more widely known to the world, his writings having been translated into many tongues, the other was at any rate more intimately known to us, seeing that he had the best of titles to rank as our founder or co-founder.[1]

Nevertheless, it will be legitimate, and also not without profit at the present time, to compare them in respect of their theoretic interests and methods of research. I would try to prove that wisdom is justified of all her children, though interests be diverse and methods many. We must avoid narrowness of view. There is ever, for instance, a tendency at work among us to magnify some partial aspect of a subject at the expense of the rest. Or, again, it is a common and natural fallacy to suppose that we are initiating fundamental changes in the way of scientific procedure when we are but following up the clues provided by the

[1] Gomme himself speaks of W. J. Thoms as "founder" (*Folk-Lore*, iii. 3), and Sir E. Brabrook repeats this, while calling Gomme "co-founder" (*Folk-Lore*, xiii. 12, 13); but Thoms himself seems to disclaim the honour (*Folk-Lore Record*, i. xiii). Thoms was, however, first "director," Gomme succeeding him in the office.

labour of a former generation. Thus it may be useful, as it is undoubtedly pious, to look backwards as well as forwards —not to forget, lest we lose time in having to relearn.

In the first place, then, Tylor stood for anthropology and Gomme for folklore. With smaller men this might have been a cause of dissociation and cross purposes. Instead, both realized clearly from the outset that they were exploring the same field from opposite ends. Tylor led the way by introducing the term "survivals."[2] He applied it to "that great class of facts" constituted by "processes, customs, opinions, and so forth, which have been carried on by force of habit into a new state of society different from that in which they had their original home." Here they "remain as proofs and examples of an older condition of culture out of which a newer has been evolved." "The serious business of ancient society may be seen to sink into the sport of later generations, and its serious belief to linger on in nursery folk-lore." Let us, too, note in passing that Tylor was no adherent of that false psychology which treats a survival as mere inert matter, a waste product passively impeding the exercise of organic function. On the contrary, he was fully aware that "sometimes old thoughts and practices will burst out afresh, to the amazement of a world that thought them long since dead or dying"; in brief, that the survival may be quickened into a revival, the savage impulses having meanwhile but lain dormant in the heart of the civilized man. So much then for Tylor's recognition of the study of survivals as a branch of what he calls the science of culture.

[2] See *Primitive Culture* (1st edit. 1871), 15 (pp. 16, 17 of 4th edit.) for his claim to this effect, as also for the passages subsequently cited; and see generally chaps. iii. and iv. He had already developed the notion of survivals as covering "the superstitious practices which belong to peasant folk-lore" in a lecture given at the Royal Institution, April 23, 1869, "On the Survival of Savage Thought in modern Civilisation"; see *Proc. Roy. Inst.* v. 522-35, esp. 530 (compare also *ib.* 534, on revivals).

Now folklore, as this Society has consistently conceived it, corresponds exactly to that branch of the science of culture which Tylor has here in view. It is true that, when William Thoms gave the word to the world in 1846, he was content to assign to his "good Saxon compound" the broad and comfortable meaning of "the lore of the People."[3] But already in the same year that saw the first general meeting of this Society Andrew Lang had roundly defined folklore as "the study of survivals."[4] And not only in this respect does he conform to the Tylorian terminology, but likewise in describing the content of folk-lore as the "culture" that the people has created out of its own resources.[5] If both he and the Council in its First Report prefer to decorate the word culture with inverted commas, it was merely because in those days it was felt, as indeed there has been reason to feel more recently, that culture and barbarism do not naturally go together in our common speech or practice. For the rest, this First Report, drafted as we may plausibly conjecture by the hand of the secretary and chief organizer Gomme, indicates in the clearest language how it must always be the aim of our Society to combine folklore with the study of savagery in the interest of a single comprehensive science of culture. The statement of policy is so broad-minded that I make no apology for quoting it in a slightly abridged form. "Folk-lore may be said to include all the 'culture' of the people, which has not been worked into the official religion and history, but which is and has always been of self-growth. It represents itself in civilized history by strange and uncouth customs.... In savage life all these things are extant, not as survivals but as actual portions of the prevalent state of society. The Folk-lore survivals of civilization and the Folk-lore status of savage tribes both,

[3] See his letter, *Athenaeum*, August 22, 1846, reprinted in the *First Annual Report* (1879), pp. 1-3 (appended to *Folk-Lore Record*, ii.).

[4] Preface to *Folk-Lore Record*, ii. vii.

[5] *Folk-Lore Record*, i. 99.

therefore, belong to the primitive history of mankind ; and in collecting and printing these relics of one epoch, from two such widely different sources, the Folk-Lore Society will produce that necessary comparison and illustration which is of so much service to the anthropologist."[6]

Assuming, then, as we surely may on the strength of such evidence, that Tylor the anthropologist and Gomme the folklorist were in scientific outlook wholly at one, let us, in the next place, enquire whether on the question of method their agreement was any less complete. Now, it goes without saying that, if the material be different, the mode of treatment will differ accordingly. Dealing as they did with separate parts of the same subject, each would naturally pursue his own line of specialized research. But such diversity as was merely incidental to a division of labour need not concern us here. The only point at issue is whether their methods were in any sense antagonistic. We must ask how far, if at all, they championed rival principles of explanation. Were both for giving the same general orientation to the study of culture? Or does the subsequent development prove that the one rather than the other divined its real path of advance?

Tylor is usually represented as the chief exponent of a method known as the psychological or evolutionary. Gomme, on the other hand, relies mainly on the method which is variously distinguished as the sociological, ethnological, or historical. These have hitherto been, and still are, the only methods that can claim first-rate importance in regard to the science of culture. The question for us is whether their claims are in any way incompatible. For it may well be that, in the hands of the masters of the science, these methods prove in effect complementary to each other, affording access to the same truth by different avenues of approach.

Tylor's method, of course, is evolutionary in the sense

[6] *First Annual Report* (1879), 4.

that he concerns himself from first to last with the development of culture. But, on this very ground, it equally deserves the name of a historical method; his subject being the history of culture neither more nor less. It should, therefore, be clearly understood at the start that a curtailment, not to say a downright distortion, of our terms is necessary if we are to use "evolutionary" and "historical" to describe methods that are narrower in scope than the method of the science as a whole. In this restricted sense of the words, an evolutionary explanation is one that regards a custom as of independent origin, that is to say, as the direct outcome of the conditions operating within a given area of culture; whereas a historical explanation is one that treats it as the result of some connexion in the way of inheritance or of intercourse between the area under investigation and the outside world.

Does Tylor, then, ignore or seek to disparage this so-called historical method? By no means. On the contrary, he expounds its nature and possibilities at great length, showing by many well-chosen illustrations how historical connexions are to be traced in detail, as notably by the study of the geographical distribution of customs.[7] Indeed, I am not acquainted with any more recent writer who has succeeded in stating the case for a critical use of this method with so much force and lucidity. Nay, so far is Tylor from showing undue partiality for the theory of spontaneous origination, that he actually thrusts on it the burden of proof as against the mere general presumption of transmission. "Any one," he says, "who claims a particular place as the source of even the smallest art, from the mere fact of finding it there, must feel that he may be using his own ignorance as evidence, as though it were knowledge. It is certainly playing against the bank for a student to set up a claim to isolation for any art or custom, not knowing what evidence there may be against him, buried

[7] See *Researches into the Early History of Mankind*, chaps. i. vii. xii. xiii.

in the ground, hidden among remote tribes, or contained even in ordinary books, to say nothing of the thousands of volumes of forgotten histories and travels."[8] For the rest, he suggests in prophetic vein that "it is possible that the ethnographer may some day feel himself justified in giving to this kind of argument a far wider range"[9]—namely, the argument relating to the propagation of customs. Even at the time when he wrote his first ethnological treatise, historical connexions loomed invitingly on all sides. "On the whole," he sums up, "it does not seem to be an unreasonable, or even over-sanguine view, that the mass of analogies in art and knowledge, mythology and custom, confused and indistinct as they at present are, may already be taken to indicate that the civilisations of many races, whose history even the evidence of language has not succeeded in bringing into connexion, have really grown up under one another's influences, or derived common material from a common source."[10]

Yet Tylor's name will always be associated with the evolutionary method, seeing that his most famous generalizations have been reached by its aid. Let us see how this came about. Now, his interest throughout lay, not in the cultural history of particular societies, much less in the history of individual culture-makers, but in the history of human culture in general. Numberless uniformities are displayed by primitive culture as a whole, and, somewhat less obviously, by various wholesale levels or stages that can be distinguished within it. Some of these uniformities might be due to accident, and a great many are undoubtedly the result of the borrowing of customs. But there remain other similarities which, in Tylor's view, are to be accounted for by direct reference to that similarity of mind which up to a certain point all human beings alike display. Thus, in so far as a given feature of culture can

[8] *Researches into the Early History of Mankind*[3], 175.
[9] *Ib.* 377. [10] *Ib.* 379.

be explained as the expression of some universal tendency on the part of our minds, spontaneous origination, an evolutionary development in the narrower sense, may be said to occur. Moreover, as compared with the other method of tracing historical connexions, this "direct method,"[11] as he terms it, promises quicker returns; since thereby "the use of detailed history is very much superseded."[12] The reason is that "the facts have not, so to speak, travelled far from their causes." The mental law involved can be inferred from the given group of facts without further ado. At the same time, Tylor is perfectly ready to admit that such a method is practicable "only in particular parts of human culture." Yet "they are among the easiest and most inviting parts of the subject"; and so he attacks them mainly, without having much regard for their "absolute importance." Indeed, as we have already seen, he looked forward to an indefinitely wider and more fruitful use of the theory of transmission in the future. But he does not believe that the time has come for writing a systematic treatise on the history of culture; and at all events is content on his own account to present a mere offering of first-fruits, or, as Bacon would say, a *vindemiatio prima*.

A common misconception of the principle involved in the evolutionary method may be noticed. According to this version, or rather perversion, of its meaning, it would run as follows: while the evolution of culture has taken place independently in a number of different areas, the process as a whole has repeated itself more or less exactly; so that we either may treat any one development as typical of all, or, if no one complete history be available, may patch together a representative account out of fragments taken indifferently from any of the particular areas concerned. If there be any student of culture who has consciously or

[11] *Early History of Mankind*[2], 4.

[12] *Ib.* 3, as also for the following citations.

unconsciously done homage to so absurd a principle, it is certainly not Tylor. He was neither so ignorant nor so wrong-headed as to suppose that history repeats itself by means of a parallelism of concrete cultures, each the product of a pure self-growth. Such a doctrine, indeed, is quite unthinkable. A strictly indigenous culture is as unknown to science as a strictly autochthonous race. Tylor's evolutionary hypothesis, however, is simply this: that certain pervasive elements of culture are susceptible of separate treatment and explanation, inasmuch as they can be extracted by analysis from the infinitely various concrete settings in which they occur. One may speak of them as customs, as Tylor often does; but really they are features of custom rather than samples of it—threads running through the tissue, not actual pieces of the stuff. The pervasive elements in question are the effects of our common mentality. Thus Tylor's evolutionary method is likewise a psychological one. Such effects do not display similarity only when the cultural conditions are otherwise similar. On the contrary, the special function of the comparative method is to testify to a unity in difference, as in this case constituted by the human mind; which, amid an endless diversity of outer circumstance, remains ever true to its destiny in virtue of an innate self-activity, unconditional, spontaneous, perennial as life itself.

I have already alluded to Tylor's doctrine that a survival may at times pass into a revival. Here we have ready to hand an admirable test of the value of his psychological method. Underlying primitive magic, he discerns a natural tendency to mistake casual associations and coincidences for real connexions. We can learn to overcome this tendency by means of a training in the logic of science; but it is always there, a permanent *idolon* of the mind. Hence, given conditions unfavourable to the predominance of the scientific temper, the lurking superstition will out; so that the magic-haunted phantasy of aboriginal

Australia comes to life again in the witch-mania of a Europe which, paradoxically enough, is in the throes of an intellectual and spiritual re-birth. Or, again, Tylor explains the animism of the savage as a natural interpretation of his dreams and visions. Such experiences are common to us all, and it thus remains open to us all to attribute a serious import, say, to the visionary appearance of one who is recently dead. Hence ancient animism has its counterpart—Tylor roundly says its revival—in modern spiritualism. The cultural conditions are altogether different, yet the mental attitude recurs. These illustrations will suffice to show at once how Tylor uses his evolutionary method, and how it serves the ultimate purpose of his writings. For he was not one of those who set up a monument to savage unreason. Rather he was bent on proving how reasonable the savage is according to his lights. The history of human culture, he insists, is all of a piece. Man has worked his long way upward by one and the same expedient, namely, "by the stern method of trial and error."[13] Tylor was ever a kindly soul, as indeed every good anthropologist must be; and this, his main conclusion, is as kindly as it is true.

I pass on. Not but what I should like to say much more, did time allow, in praise of Tylor's methods, and in particular of his psychological method. So, too, were I to pursue this theme further, I might be led on to discuss how far it is possible, while continuing to use his psychological method as such in exactly his way, yet to modify the psychological doctrine with which the mental science of his day supplied him; so as, for instance, to allow feeling and will a fuller jurisdiction by the side of thought, or, again, to make more of the specific mental effects of social intercourse and tradition. But appreciation rather than criticism is appropriate to the present occasion. In the

[13] *Macmillan's Magazine*, xlvi. (1882), 86.

same spirit, I would ask you to consider the work of Gomme, with special reference to his use of the historical method.

Gomme's views about method touch us very nearly, seeing that to introduce order and discipline into the researches of this Society was his heart's desire—nay, was probably the prime incentive that moved him to work out those principles of method which were afterwards embodied in his own studies. From the time of our foundation onwards he was resolved that this Society should be no league of elegant triflers. We are collectors, it is true, rather than theorists in the first instance ; and your collector of folklore is born, not made. Nevertheless, even hounds of the right breed will lose themselves if there be no whipper-in. So it fell to Gomme, as secretary and director, to see that the work of the Society should advance along strictly scientific lines. I need not review in detail the steps that he took to this end —how, for instance, he provided us with a careful bibliography of folklore, so that what the French would call our "documentation" might be thoroughly systematic. It is enough to say that he laboured to form our scientific methods, as did no other of our leaders with such conscious intent ;[14] so that, indeed, we can scarcely fail to be sympathetic towards principles that are part, as it were, of our social inheritance.

Now, there is a sense in which a historical method is practicable for the folklorist in a way that it can never be for his brother the anthropologist. It is a sense differing alike from that in which we speak of the general method of the science of culture as the comparative or historical, and from the more restricted use of the term to signify the theory of historical connexion or transmission. In this, its third meaning, the historical method is one which by direct

[14] Thus in *Folk-Lore*, xiii. (1902), 13, Sir Edward Brabrook singles him out from among the protagonists of the Society for his contributions to the subject of method.

reference to the literary records of the past traces the development of a custom from stage to stage. It might seem hardly necessary to formulate so obvious a principle of research were it not that the kind of material interesting to the folklorist, consisting in the sayings and doings of those whom Hume describes as "the lowest vulgar," is precisely such as official historians will be likely to slur over or misrepresent; so that a positive rule is required to remind us that the accidents of history are the opportunities of folklore. The historical method is Tylor's name for this straightforward way of hunting up the pedigree of a survival; and, by way of illustration, he applies it very prettily to the explanation of the led horse at the soldier's funeral.[15] Historical research, then, in this plain sense of the term, has always been a main concern of this Society. We have enjoyed many demonstrations of the value of this method not only for constructive, but likewise for critical, purposes; as, for instance, when Miss Burne, in a striking Presidential Address, showed us how, by the aid of recorded history, it was possible "to distinguish between one survival and another, between survivals from mediaeval days and survivals from totemic days, between local variations and radical differences."[16] As for Gomme, his examination of the archives of British custom was so systematic and fruitful as to entitle him to rank high among the historians of this country. But it is not this aspect of his work that I propose to consider to-night. He was likewise a follower of the historical method in the sense in which it is contrasted with the evolutionary; and, since the relative value of these methods for the science of culture is even to-day by no means clear, it may be useful to enquire how the argument from historical connexion took shape under the hand of a great pioneer.

[15] In "The Study of Custom," *Macmillan's Magazine*, xlvi. (1882), 79.
[16] *Folk-Lore*, xxi. (1910), 32.

Culture-contact is a notion that has long been familiar to this Society. I find the actual term in use in early days,[17] while the principle that it stands for was constantly to the front; as, notably, during the protracted battle over folk-tales between the "diffusionists" and the "casualists," namely, the parties that severally favoured "dissemination from a common centre" and "parallel invention." Looking back on this ancient controversy, one is able to perceive that the two schools were at loggerheads because their prevailing interests, rather than their theories of method, were diverse. The one group fixed their attention on the particular history of some tale as a whole. The other group, on the contrary, were for the most part bent on extracting from it some particular feature, say, an odd piece of magic, or a reminiscence of animism, so that they might forthwith explain such an isolated element as the outcome of some world-wide habit of mind. At all events, it would be quite unfair, as was done then and is sometimes done now, to name the doctrine of independent origins the "anthropological" view, as if to imply that anthropology tends to reject the principle of diffusion by culture-contact altogether. It has been shown already how Tylor strove to render equal justice to the evolutionary and the historical points of view. And, if Tylor was not a typical anthropologist, who is?

Now Gomme in so many words declares that his own point of view—he even terms it a "bias"—is anthropological.[18] He belongs to the "anthropological" school as contrasted with the "literary" in regard to the study of folk-tales. In other words, his interest lies, not in the particular history of the tale as such, but in the general history of culture as explained by the analysis of the tale in question. Nor will he join with those who will have

[17] See J. Jacobs in *Internat. Folk-Lore Congress* (1891), 83; cf. *Folk-Lore*, iv. (1893), 236.

[18] *Folk-Lore*, iii. (1892), 4; compare *ib.* ii. (1891), 2; iv. (1893), 18.

nothing to do with the evolutionary theory. On the contrary, he rebukes Mr. Jacobs, when the latter pours scorn on those he nicknamed the casualists, as one "who is perpetually forgetting his masters in the science," and reminds him of "a man called Tylor."[19] Gomme's own position in respect to the theory of independent origins is eminently reasonable. He is prepared to make the assumption in certain cases, but does so "provisionally," just as Tylor did also.[20] One cause, he says, with which the folklorist must always reckon is "the generation of the same thought by people of the same mental development, wherever they may be existing, or at whatever date."[21] The evolutionary principle could not be more fairly stated.

Nevertheless, Gomme put most of his strength into the exposition and advocacy of the complementary method—the historical, sociological, ethnological. He gave it emphasis, because it needed it. In those early days the interest in belief and story had outrun the interest in institutions; though it is true that the Folk-Lore Congress of 1891 had impartially allotted sections to each of these three departments of the subject. Gomme's researches into the history of the village-community in this country had taught him betimes the value of referring oddments of custom to their institutional basis, as established by exhaustive enquiry within a particular area of culture. So, in the course of several Presidential Addresses delivered in the early nineties, and elsewhere, he developed, for the lasting benefit of this Society and of our science in general, his conception of the fundamental importance of the study of institutions, or, as he otherwise phrases it, of social organization. Even as regards this kind of method he gracefully concedes the lead to Tylor, referring more especially to his essay "On a Method of investigating the development of Institutions applied to Laws of Marriage

[19] *Folk-Lore*, iv. (1893), 13.
[20] *Ib.* 14. [21] *Ib.* 10.

and Descent."[22] Gomme's special merit, however, consists in having formulated the principle of method that institutions need, first and foremost, to be studied in their local context. Intensive ethnographical research is the necessary *prius* of comparative ethnology. Before we proceed to trace historical connexions between different areas of culture on the strength of the geographical distribution of customs, we must have worked out the topographical distribution of customs within the several areas concerned, so as to make sure that in each case the things to be compared are themselves envisaged in the light of their authentic development. Such a method, then, as applied to a region with a recorded past such as this country, will be historical in two senses at once; because it is the only way of proving the historical transmission of customs, and at the same time because it involves the testing of each custom by its historical pedigree. It is likewise essentially sociological, since it insists that social organization rather than belief or story brings us directly into touch with that continuous life of the people of which the various customs are but the expression.

Further, such a method is no less characteristically ethnological. Even if we concentrate on a single area, we can hardly fail to discover, in its institutional history, the effects of culture-contact. We are proud to remember that under Gomme's Presidency this Society was to the fore in promoting an ethnological survey of Britain.[23] Gomme's own work, too, had led him straight to the explanation of the British village-community in terms of culture-contact. Into the particular merits of this explanation we cannot go now; but it will serve as an excellent example of an ethnological hypothesis as employed by the historical method of folklore. Having tried to eliminate the effects

[22] In *Journ. Anth. Inst.* xviii. (1888), 245 f.; see Gomme in *Folk-Lore*, ii. (1891), 487.

[23] Compare *Folk-Lore*, v. (1894), 50.

of Roman and later influences, Gomme thought that he could resolve the village-community into a dual system due to the settlement of Aryan conquerors amid a pre-Aryan population that was thereby reduced to serfdom. The grounds on which the theory was made to rest were primarily sociological. The Aryan overlords were credited with a tribal system that has left various survivals in the way of institutional custom or belief; whereas the aborigines were supposed to have already possessed a village-organization which continued to exist in a modified form.[24] When we are provided with so perfect a specimen of a theory of culture-contact, I need not labour the point that Gomme's favourite method was no less ethnological than it was sociological and historical in its purpose. Indeed I have said enough—or perhaps more than enough, seeing that I am speaking to those who knew him well—to justify the assertion that, just as we think naturally of Tylor in connexion with the evolutionary method, so the historical method ought to be for all time associated with the name of Gomme, who, while others groped, lit a lamp, and so lighted himself and the rest of us along a sure way.

I have now accomplished the main object of these remarks, which was to endeavour to do honour to the memory of Sir Edward Tylor and of Sir Laurence Gomme, by examining their work—very hastily and imperfectly I am afraid—from the limited but crucial standpoint of method. It remains to consider how we, who are left to carry on that work, may develop those pioneer methods of theirs in a way worthy of their approval, were they still here. There are active among us to-day eager advocates

[24] Gomme has frequently expounded the theory in question. See, for instance, *The Village Community* (London, 1890), 137; *Ethnology in Folklore* (London, 1892), 70; *Folklore as a Historical Science* (London, 1908), 357; and *Sociological Review* (1909), 323.

of the ethnological method, such as Dr. Rivers and Professor Elliot Smith. On the other hand, the evolutionary school can claim adherents so powerful as Sir James Frazer and Mr. Hartland; while at Oxford, if only out of sheer loyalty to Tylor, some of us may always incline towards a psychological interpretation of primitive culture. Now how deep does the difference cut? Is there any need to prosecute science in the spirit of partisans? We have seen how Tylor and Gomme paid equal homage to both methods, though as anthropologist and as folklorist they severally applied a single and an opposite method to the work immediately confronting them. Has not the time come, then, when we may aspire to a joint use of the historical and the evolutionary methods? Logically they are not incompatible, but would rather seem to be complementary to each other. Cannot we make them practically so?

I venture to suggest, then, in the name of those masters of method, Tylor and Gomme, who realized that the paths to the truth are many but converging, that we bring our divided forces to bear on a theme that promises exercise for them all—I mean the psychology of culture-contact. I cannot, indeed, claim to have thought out in any detail how such a subject ought to be treated. Even had I done so, I could not attempt at this late hour to put my thoughts into words. But I hail it as a sign of the times that Dr. Rivers, whose passion for the strictest scientific method first led him to the study of social organization, and thenceforward to the study of ethnological intermixture, has tended more and more as he went on to eke out history by means of psychological considerations of a general nature. Being himself a psychologist of no mean repute, he was never, as some hot-heads would seem to be, for excluding psychology from the science of culture altogether. Yet for a long time he cried "to-morrow" to his poor handmaid, eager to serve. She must sit in the cold and wait. But somehow she has

slipped in and got to work; and it is plainly not in his heart any longer to wish it otherwise.

Going back for a moment to Gomme's ethnological work, we may note the same surreptitious ingress of a psychology that will not be denied. I take a couple of examples almost at hazard. Thus his theory of the origin of the village-community demands that the Aryan immigrants stand to the pre-Aryan aborigines in the relation of conquerors to conquered. Yet the former are assumed to have "adopted and adapted" certain beliefs of the indigenous population. Why? Because for religious reasons the invaders are apt to borrow from the local folk so as to make themselves at home among the sacred powers of the land.[25] Now such a principle is to a certain extent susceptible of proof, or disproof, by the collection and comparison of historical instances. But in essence it is a psychological cause that is invoked, and one which, if genuine, must have operated independently again and again. Once more, he puts forward a hypothesis which, though it is to be taken in close connexion with the other, rests on a psychological principle of another order, namely, one belonging to the psychology of sex. "It seems to me quite possible," he writes, "that the women of a conquered race, feared as they often were by their conquerors as the devotees of the local deities, might use that fear under some conditions to establish a place of power which has left its mark on the history of marriage."[26] Now here we have just the sort of problem concerning the effect of culture-contact on marriage-organization that Dr. Rivers has constantly to face in his "History of Melanesian Society." It may or may not be necessary in such a context to speculate on what might happen in virtue of the tendency to regard women as the mysterious sex. But I fail to see how we

[25] Compare *Folk-Lore*, iv. (1893), 13. In confirmation of such an explanation, see E. S. Hartland in *Folk-Lore*, xxvii. (1916), 319.

[26] *Folk-Lore*, ii. (1891), 494.

are ever to get at grips with such a question if psychological considerations are altogether ruled out on *a priori* grounds of method. Gomme at any rate was not such a pedant as to reject a useful hint, though it come from any quarter. Nor does Dr. Rivers show himself pedantic, inasmuch as he has passed on from sociology to ethnology, and from ethnology to psychology, with a progressive enlargement of outlook which makes his book a classic for all those who wish to study method in the making.

Dr. Rivers, indeed, allows in so many words that "there is one department of sociology in which . . . psychological assumptions become indispensable," namely, when the purpose is "to show how social institutions come into existence as the result of the contact and blending of peoples."[27] Such assumptions, however, he insists, are not to be treated as "laws." They must be tested by the study of social processes ere ever we can so regard them.[28] With this we must all agree. After all, as folklorists and anthropologists, we are not interested in psychology or sociology as such, but in the science of human culture, a far more concrete and comprehensive study, which makes use of these disciplines, and of others as well, just in so far as they throw light on the subject of culture from this side or from that. Or again, we are not interested as ethnologists in the history of any particular culture-area in itself. A so-called "law" is no law, a demonstration of tendency is not a real demonstration, so long as it holds good only for the British Isles, or for Melanesia. Our science is concerned with the general conditions of culture-contact; and to this end, and to nothing short of it, must our sociological and psychological studies be conjointly directed.

Dr. Rivers is, of course, fully aware of this. Indeed, though his treatise on the history of Melanesian society has primarily an ethnographical scope, he has managed, in a few pregnant pages, to formulate such general conditions

[27] *Sociological Review*, ix. (1916), 8. [28] *Ib.* 9.

in a way that, to my mind, provides an excellent programme for future research.[29] It is true that considerations of relevancy make him limit his attention to one, and that the simplest, case of the diffusion of culture, namely, where the representatives of different cultures not only come into direct contact, but actually combine to form one society. How, then, may we classify the general conditions governing culture-contact in this special but highly typical case?

First, there are the various geographical conditions that may be summed up under the heads of route and habitat. It goes without saying that these must be studied in their influence on the cultural as well as on the purely physical life of the people, so as to bring out all the sociological and psychological effects that such influence involves. Thus, to illustrate the latter only, route must be taken into account in explaining the beliefs of a band of immigrant sea-rovers;[30] or, again, habitat will have a bearing if we try to show that fauna and flora, a special type of weather, a volcanic environment, and so forth, can give a peculiar turn to religious ideas.[31]

In the next place, the material culture of the peoples who intermix, comprising all appliances brought into play by their arts, whether industrial or aesthetic, may be distinguished as a special set of conditions. Here, again, though we treat these facts to some extent apart, we must never lose sight of their relation to the rest. Thus, on the one hand, they must be connected with route and habitat; sea-farers may have no use for the bow in warfare,[32] while inland-dwellers will hardly be expert in sea-fishing. On

[29] *The History of Melanesian Society* (Cambridge, 1914), ii. 292-303.

[30] Compare *Hist. Mel. Soc.* ii. 262.

[31] As regards the effect of volcanic surroundings on belief, see *Hist. Mel. Soc.* ii. 263, 479; compare Sir J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough* (3rd ed.), v. 188 f. on "volcanic religion."

[32] Compare *Hist. Mel. Soc.* ii. 447.

the other hand, they affect, and are affected by, the sociological and psychological conditions; so that, for instance, religion will retain otherwise useless appliances for ceremonial purposes, or, conversely, as Dr. Rivers has so brilliantly suggested, useful arts will be discarded because the accompanying ceremonies are somehow lost.[33]

Thirdly, the social organization of the interacting parties involves a most important class of conditions. Whether the immigrants are few or many, whether they are organized for war or come as peaceful traders or settlers, whether they have chiefs and a social system that will bear transplanting, whether they bring women with them, and these women of their own race and culture—all these, and many more, are matters that must largely determine the whole conception of the mixing process; while the social arrangements of the indigenous population form a no less important element in the problem. Kinship and marriage, government and law, and, hardly less directly, the organization of the economic and of the religious life, are dependent on these facts in such a degree that to consider them abstractly as functions of the social order is quite allowable on the part of a trained thinker; for he will know that the value of a given abstraction is in inverse ratio to the importance of what is for the moment put out of sight.

Fourthly, there are psychological conditions that can and must be considered apart in estimating what the combining units severally contribute to the blend. Thus, whether the immigrants have a peaceful or warlike disposition, and whether the local population receive them in the one spirit or the other, is not wholly a matter of numbers and organization, however much the pure sociologist might wish to simplify the problem by supposing so. Again, the facts relating to language, and to oral tradition, are most naturally dealt with under this head. But I need

[33] Compare W. H. R. Rivers, "The Disappearance of Useful Arts," in *Festskrift tillegnad E. Westermarck* (Helsingfors, 1912), 109 f.

not insist further on a point which Dr. Rivers has amply stated, if indeed he has not overstated it; since he says "the only way in which the culture of an immigrant people can be carried about the world is in a psychological form, in the form of sentiments, beliefs, and ideas."[34]

Lastly, we come to the most interesting of all the conditions involved in culture-contact, namely, the new conditions brought into play by the actual contact itself. Dr. Rivers finds fault with Dr. Graebner for conceiving ethnological intermixture as a mechanical process, and suggests that the notion of a chemical process comes nearer to the mark.[35] I confess that such analogies drawn from the physical sciences and redolent of the "lower categories" seem to me one and all misleading. We must keep steadily in view the fact that culture-contact is, for the science of culture, essentially a psychical process. Only by applying the conception of soul, taken in its individual and social aspects together, can we do justice to such development as is brought about by a synthesis of spiritual elements—such as culture-contact truly is when viewed, not from some lower standpoint, but from the standpoint of culture itself. Now, as regards psychological "laws," Dr. Rivers writes: "I have never heard of them, and I am afraid I should not believe them if I heard."[36] I dare not, then, offer him one, but would nevertheless call attention to what is at least an accepted working principle in the domain of individual psychology. It is this, that the occasion of the development of the higher processes of thought is conflict arising among our sense impressions. I would venture, then, to suggest that some very similar principle ought to be provided in the domain of social psychology to account for the spiritual awakening which a clash of cultures in circumstances otherwise favourable may

[34] *Sociological Review*, ix. (1916), 8.
[35] *History of Melanesian Society*, ii. 585.
[36] *Sociological Review*, ix. (1916), 9.

occasion. I deliberately say "occasion," not "cause," because I regard soul as a prime-mover—the only one.

For the rest, the specific conditions brought into play by virtue of the culture-contact itself need to be subjected to detailed analysis, and to be classified according to the aspects of culture involved. Here, then, is the chosen ground to which I would point as the meeting-place and joint laboratory of the evolutionary and historical methods. While the historical method will attend chiefly to the assemblage of pre-existing conditions, the evolutionary, which is likewise essentially a psychological, method will be mostly concerned with the spontaneous origination, the live and truly evolutionary movement of spiritual awakening, that ensues upon the fact of cultural contact and cross-fertilization. Sometimes, the result of this quickening will wear an institutional and sociological guise, as in the startling case, regarded as by no means impossible by Dr. Rivers, of father-right resulting from the fusion of two matrilineal stocks.[37] Even in such a case, however, when Dr. Rivers comes to formulate a "mechanism"—by which sinister expression he simply means a scheme—he frankly resorts to psychology in order to exhibit the true nature of the process. In other cases, the product of contact will be on the face of it a psychological fact, to which a psychological explanation may be applied without more ado. Thus, an aetiological myth may be generated to account for some unfamiliar importation, a process attributable to the stimulating effect on the imagination of the new and strange. As regards this last example, I am thinking, of course, of the illuminating paper on "The Sociological Significance of Myth" which Dr. Rivers read before this Society some five years ago.[38]

[37] *Hist. Mel. Soc.* ii. 320.

[38] *Folk-Lore*, xxiii. (1912), 307 f. Let me confess that I appreciate the psychological principle as to the effect of the unfamiliar all the more because my own theory of pre-animistic religion is based largely on a like presupposition.

I have exhausted your patience, without by any means exhausting a theme which takes us down to the roots of the science of culture, the science of Tylor and Gomme. It must suffice to have tried to show two things: firstly, how in the past the evolutionary and historical methods, with which the names of Tylor and Gomme are severally associated, were used by them, yet never abused; and, secondly, how in the future we might hope to bring these methods into closer co-operation by concentrating on the general conditions, and especially on the psychology, of culture-contact. If I have sounded the psychological note too strongly, I would ask you to bear with my individual bent or bias. For, as compared with sociology, psychology has always seemed to me to have the first word and the last; just as thought comes first and last as compared with speech. A meaning is there before we try to put it into words, and, though the words help it out, yet they always lag a little behind our ideal meaning. So too, then, I conceive the soul of man, in its individual and social capacities taken together, to be a self-active power which both originates institutions, and, though developing through their aid, ever transcends them, ever seeks to transmute them so that they may subserve still higher and more ideal ends. Tylor called our science the science of culture, and it is a good name. But let us not forget that culture stands at once for a body and a life, and that the body is a function of the life, not the life of the body.

R. R. Marett.

SERBIAN HABITS AND CUSTOMS.

BY DR. T. R. GEORGEVITCH.

FROM what we know of the important part that habits and customs have played among the Serbian people, and by the weaker part they are still playing to-day, we can divide them into five groups.

1. *The social habits* are those which govern the communications between the members of social groups. (The inner law, the assembly, forms of politeness, recreations, visits, education, etc.)

2. *The economical habits* are those which govern the work necessary for the existence of these social groups. (Hunting, fishing, breeding, agriculture, trades, pillage, etc.)

3. *The religious habits* are those which govern the intercourse between human beings and the divinity. (Prayers, ordinary prayers, sacrifices, funerals, offerings, funeral services, etc.)

4. *The legal habits* (*customary rights*) are those which govern abnormal communications and which protect the interests of society in general and of individuals in particular. (Tribunals, punishment of crime, commerce, shares, etc.)

5. *The medical habits* are those to which we owe the preservation of health or the healing of diseases. (Preventions, cures, drugs, etc.)

Naturally customs become confused (social with legal, economical with legal, religious with medical, religious with economical, etc.), and it is often impossible to tell where their respective domains begin or end.

There was a time among the Serbs when habits were the real *laws*, and they are so called by the Serbs till the present day—unique laws which governed all social communications, to which all works conformed, by which all criminals were judged and all crimes punished, they protected the interests, they established the formation of the communications between gods and men, and by them they preserved the health and healed illnesses. This time refers to a very distant period when, instead of the Serbian Government, there existed only primitive tribes, each having their personal interests and their personal government; when, instead of the Christian religion, there existed only primitive beliefs in divine beings and nature; and, instead of the written laws, there existed only the customary rights. It is the time of the full opening of the Serbian traditions and customs.

The Serbian people did not remain very long in this primitive state. Their tribes became Serbian States in the common interest. In the State the social habits of the tribe could not exist any longer, and the Serbian State of the "Middle Age" eliminated them little by little, and, at last, the Emperor Dusan's Code (1331-1355) abolished them completely and submitted them to the interests of the Serbian Government.

The introduction into Serbia of the Christian religion dates from about the period of the formation of the Serbian State—a religion entirely opposite to the pagan religious habits which, so far, had ruled the religious communications between gods and men. The struggle between the Christian Church and the national habits ended in different ways. Sometimes the Church has defended, condemned, cursed them, specially the exhumation and the cremation of corpses, which they believe to be vampires, magic, and sorcery. Sometimes she has permitted them to join in her rites—for example, the nuptial habits have remained, but the union is only valuable to the eyes of the Church as far

as benediction has been given by the priest. Sometimes she has adopted them by transforming them into Christian customs—for example, the *Slava*, which was the worship of ancestors, and which became the worship of saints; *adoption*, which was an artificial pagan parentage, and which became a Christian custom blessed by the Church.

The Serbian Government took the initiative in the creation of tribunals for common interest, and by their creation abolished the use of the customary rights.

Customs which were not against public interests and religious views, or which were not apparently antagonistic, lived and have remained untouched or almost the same. These are the economical and medical customs.

This adaptation of the habits to the interest of the Government and to the views of the Church lasted as long as the Serbian States of the Middle Age remained, that is to say, until the end of the fifteenth century. When the Turks conquered the Serbian States, the dynasties and the nobility, representatives of the organisation of the Government, disappeared. In the country, there only remained the mass of the people. What mattered to the Turks was the peacefulness of the people, the payment of taxes, the execution of the statute-labours and the presence of a Serbian representative responsible to the Turkish Government.

Left to themselves, the Serbian people almost secured a revival of the primitive customs which had governed them before the formation of the Serbian State. This return towards the past was not very difficult, especially in the mountainous regions of the West where the influence of the Church and of the State had hardly made itself felt. In these mountainous regions the tribe's life reappears, the chiefs are not only chiefs of the tribe but also its representatives towards the Turks, and the mediators between the people and the pachas. In the East, in the countries less mountainous where the organisation of the State in the

Middle Age was more strongly felt, the *Knezina* took the place of the tribes—almost self-administrative entities ruling—which have nearly the same organisation as the tribes. In the tribes, as well as in the *Knezina, Knezovi* (the hereditary chiefs), the national Serbs (*Knez, bas-knez, obor-knez*) govern. They do not differ from the people in any way, either in clothing or in their way of living. They govern in common agreement with the people, according to the old social traditions and customs. This is how the ancient social habits were revived.

It is from the period of the conquest of the Serbian State that the disappearance of the Serbian written laws dates. The ancient legal customs took their place and played a great part, one which consisted in settling the disputes between the *Knezina*. The boundaries between the different *Knezina* were badly defined. The cattle of one feeding on the ground of the other was often the cause of conflict. These quarrels were treated by the customary laws. The pleaders gave full power to the tribunal of venerable old men, who settled the matter to the best of their power. If settlement was not possible, it was agreed to have an open fight between the two *Knezina*, the winner reserving to himself the right of making the law. In the same way discords between the villages of the same *Knezina* were settled. Homicides were judged by chosen arbitrators or by venerable old men who spontaneously declared themselves ready to be arbitrators. If, in a village, there was a criminal he was expelled or put to death by the inhabitants. If someone committed damage, a counsel elected by the villagers estimated the damage and the guilty one had to pay or compensate the losers. When a criminal remained undetected all the villagers assembled, each one of them mutually guaranteeing that he was not guilty. The individual who could not find a guarantee was unanimously declared guilty. If the guilty persisted in denying his crime he was submitted to the

Judgment of God (*Hazija*). A ploughshare heated to white heat was dropped into a large kettle filled with boiling water, the accused had to seize this ploughshare with his hand and throw it far away. If his hand was untouched after the trial he was declared innocent. If, on the contrary, he had traces of burns he was declared guilty.

If two brothers disputed their inheritance the question was settled by arbitration. That is how the legal customs were continued.

The Turks punished only rebellion, robbery and big crimes, when the latter were known to them.

Under the Turkish Government the Serbian Church lost a great deal of her prestige in former times. The Turks abolished the independence of the Serbian Church immediately after the conquest of Serbia. A great part of her clergy fled to Hungary. The crisis suffered by the Church under the Turkish Government made her more indulgent. She made numerous concessions to the popular religious views. The peasants occupied themselves with the care of the monasteries; they offered them gifts and kept and repaired them. They also named the bishop without themselves conforming to the rules of the Church of the Middle Age, and they left to the priests only the honour of giving benediction. When it was possible to obtain permission from the Turks to build churches, the Serbian peasants constructed them. Naturally they were no longer built in the magnificent style of the Empire at its height, but only in the simple style of the houses of the ordinary villages. The national artisans made ikons representing apocryphal incidents existing in the popular traditions. The priests permitted—but very rarely—bigamy. They themselves married again, shaved their beards, wore the national uniform, danced the *Kolo*, led the people into battle against the Turks, and even rebelled themselves against their oppressors (*hadjuci*). Under these circumstances the peasants sometimes met without the assistance

of the Church's representatives to unite in prayer for rain, for the fertility of the country, for the health of their men, and the prosperity of the cattle. It is at this period that the superstitious religious traditions reappear : the exhumation and cremation of the vampires, the persecution of women who were believed to be witches, sorcery and magic, etc. It is in this way that the primitive religious habits were renewed to the detriment of the Christian Church's habits.

The primitive economical and medical customs, which, as we have already stated, remained nearly intact at the time of the Independence of the Serbian State, continued to exist under the Turkish Government. The communal care of the cattle and oratory control vigils, popular doctors and popular chemistry, etc., remained almost the same as in ancient times.

Such was the state of the Serbian customs during the Turkish Government.

This state of affairs was not unacceptable to the Turks, because it saved them trouble, especially when they had the *Knez*, where the Serbian chiefs represented their people to the Turks. These chiefs were provided with decrees from the Turkish Government. The pachas protected this arrangement, and punished the Turks who wanted to cause disorder.

In the mountains of Dalmatia, under the Venetian domination, the Serbian habits existed in all their purity. There all persecution of customs by State and Church failed. On one hand, we must attribute this to the geographic situation of the mountainous country, and, on the other, to the emigration of the Serbs, who, escaping the Turkish yoke, constantly arrived in great numbers in Dalmatia, bringing their unchanged habits and customs.

Another fate was reserved for the Serbian traditions and customs in part of Bosnia-Herzegovina, where a certain number of the Serbian inhabitants had adopted the Mahometan religion. The latter were in a more favourable

condition from the economical and social point of view, and, unlike the other Serbs in Turkey, they did not return to the primitive habits of the past. This caused the disappearance of many economical and social customs among them. But, in adopting the Mahometan religion, they had to accept many of the purely Turkish religious customs (nuptial and funeral customs and circumcision). In spite of all this, the Mahometan Serbs preserved many of the original purely Serbian customs, more particularly those which were not at variance with the Turkish religion (the brotherhood, the Christmas log, the fires of St. Jean, etc.).

Even so, the traditions and customs of the emigrant Serbs in Austria-Hungary weakened. There, in a well organised State, the Serbian social habits completely lost their significance. In the advanced economic circumstances the primitive habits were forgotten, and where the religious level was at its height the old religious traditions were banished. But, even so, the Serbian cultivated class, philosophers, poets and other writers, raised their voice against the popular customs, particularly against those that were useless and prejudicial, and, finally, the representatives of the Austrian Government did all that was in their power to abolish these primitive traditions.

Although in Turkey and in Dalmatia conditions were very favourable for the preservation of the primitive Serbian customs, some of them completely disappeared, the cause of their existence having ceased to exist. We must attribute the principal cause of their disappearance to the change of the daily occupation of the people and also to the new methods of work. In some provinces agriculture took the place of breeding, consequently customs relating to the care of cattle lost their *raison d'être*. In other provinces more modern methods of agriculture succeeded the primitive methods and therefore caused the disappearance of the primitive customs which related to the latter.

There is a certain number of customs which died a natural death, and we only know of their existence from traditions and from some symbols which we still possess. They are barbarous, inhuman, brutal and immoral habits. It is because of their nature that the enlightened society had to abandon them. We find in the Serbian popular tradition the extermination of old people when these became a burden to their children; and also the survival of stoning to death great criminals, etc. In some Serbian provinces the peasants still practise symbolic sacrifices; viz., the burnt offering of a sheep and of a cock whose mixed blood is spread on the foundation of a great building. This ceremony replaced human sacrifice, which is much spoken of in the Serbian popular tradition. The old sacrifices of human beings for the fertility of the land are replaced by symbolic sacrifices. In some Serbian provinces dolls with human likeness are, during the prayers of the processions, thrown into the river; in other provinces it is the officiating priest whom they pretend to throw into the water.

When the Serbs from Serbia and from Montenegro liberated themselves from the Turkish Government the old habits and customs rapidly weakened. Even before this liberation they were not so numerous or so potential as previously, and time made them still rarer. Of those which remained there were, however, sufficient for serious measures to be taken to crush them. In the eighteenth and nineteenth century the Montenegrin bishops and princes frequently took active steps against some of the remaining customs, especially any opposed to the State, to the Christian religion and to commonsense. In Serbia the chiefs of the rebellion against the Turks, Kara George (1804-1813) and Prince Milos Obrenovitch (1815-1839), were faced with great difficulties in suppressing the remaining harmful traditions.

Since the period of deliverance, thanks to the influence

of the State, of the laws, of the Christian religion provided with a greater authority, of the foundation of a good number of schools, of the installation of doctors, of national civilisation, of changes and amelioration of daily occupation, in the free Serbian countries (Serbia and Montenegro) the ancient habits and customs are gradually disappearing.

The actual state of Serbian habits and customs is as follows: In the provinces which, all too recently, were under the Turkish domination and particularly in the mountainous districts where the communications were difficult, and where the villages were small and scattered, they remained numerous and active. There even to-day the people live almost completely according to ancient customs, and from the time of their conception even to the time that follows their death they are surrounded with local traditions. The relation of the parents towards the foetus, birth, childhood, adolescence, marriage, daily life, death, and even the fate of the soul after death,—all is ruled by their traditions. It is not only the individual life that the customs rule, but it is also the life of the family, the commonality and the tribes. This state of affairs exists in several regions of Macedonia, Old Serbia, Dalmatia, Montenegro and Herzegovina.

Beyond these provinces in East and North, where communications are more developed and where civilisation has made some progress, habits and customs are much rarer and weaker; there they have lost their restrictive power, and a good many have disappeared. This state of things exists in Serbia in the valleys of the Bosnia, in Banat, in Slavonia and in Backa.

In big towns and in their surroundings, particularly in those which were not under the Turkish domination, modern civilisation had such an influence that the habits disappeared completely, or else the inhabitants preserved them simply as survivals, as holy relics of the past or as national symbols.

Among all nations traditions have an extraordinary resistance; they exist although harmful and ridiculous and even when their *raison d'être* has disappeared. It is not, therefore, surprising that a certain number of habits and customs still remain among the Serbians. This Serbian people has a real tenderness towards the customs and traditions in the past, when means of existence were very hard under a foreign domination which lasted during centuries, and which, in certain provinces, still exists. It was the traditions and customs, as well as the language, which contributed to preserve their national individuality and the existence of the Serbian people. Although in free Serbian countries the habits and customs have lost their *raison d'être* and in some provinces have given place to the sentiment of the national individuality, the multitude of the Serbian people would believe it to be a sin to let them entirely disappear. The nation still believes that, by the practice of the same habits and customs, she manifests her national unity. She keeps them under a benign form, excusing herself by saying, "Our ancestors did so" (*Tako je ostalo od naših starih*) or "It must be done likewise" (*Tako se valja*), or, in quoting the old proverbs, "Our customs are our laws" (*Sto je od obicaja, to je od Zakona*), "It is better to sell the country than to lose her traditions" (*Bolje je zemlju prodati, nego joj obicaje izgubiti*), "The destruction of a village is preferable to the forfeiture of her habits" (*Bolje je da selo propadne nego u selu obicaj*).

Generally, women are more conservative than men. That is why among Serbian women, specially among the peasants, the habits and customs are more living than among their men. They practise them in their work, prayers, social relationships, etc. If, however, men consider the customs useful or pretty, or an expression of Serbian nationality, they keep them as a noble and dear inheritance of which they are justly proud.

We will quote some examples of useful and "beautiful habits" (an epithet daily applied to these customs) still existing among the Serbian people.

When a peasant is poor and his pair of oxen is not sufficient to plough his ground, or if, not being poor, he wants to hurry on with his work, he obtains the help of another peasant in the same circumstances and they work together. This economical custom is called *spreja*. A common interest binds them as closely as family ties. They consider themselves as relations. The bonds of a sincere affection unite their respective families. They help one another on all occasions. It is very difficult to break the *spreja*; it lasts sometimes many years and is transmitted from father to son.

When a farmer cannot finish his work in time he borrows his neighbour's labourers and tools, and renders him the same service under similar circumstances. This custom is called *pozajmica*. It is a sin not to do "as thou would be done by."

On Sunday afternoons or on holidays when a farmer who is the possessor of a large piece of cultivated ground cannot finish his work in the desired time he invites boys, girls, and the youth of the village to work for him. In the evening he gives them a copious and delicious dinner, which is followed by dancing and singing (there are special songs for this custom—*mobarskepesme*—which is called *moba*). It is not only the attraction of the feast that makes the workers come. The *moba* is practised also in favour of old people, of invalids and of absentees—that is to say, for the good of all those unable to work themselves or unable to pay for the work of others. Brothers still share their inheritance according to ancient customs. They give a feast to which their friends are guests, the latter dividing the inheritance into equal parts for the brothers to choose, and these continue to live on as friendly terms as before.

Serbian hospitality is proverbial. Foreigners, travellers,

common carriers and beggars all go to any of the houses of the villages and receive their food and lodging gratis. Each Serbian peasant has a high ambition in regard to the custom of hospitality, and he feels ashamed of himself if he cannot practise it generously. This custom is called *gostoprimatve.*

The custom of *pobratimatvo* (artificial relations) is very tender and very touching. When two persons are united by the bounds of a deep friendship they become *pobratimes* ("brothers") for the rest of their lives. In the last century they celebrated this by the mutual suction of their blood—they cut the wrists of both *pobratimes*—the benediction was given by the priest at the church, and presents were exchanged. In our days the *pobratimes* assemble their friends, swear fidelity, embrace each other, and give each other a souvenir commemorating the ceremony. *Pobratimstvo* creates not only the relationship between the two *pobratimes,* but also between their respective families. This relationship constitutes even an obstruction to marriage. Gratitude, poverty, despair have often given birth to this *pobratimstvo.* For example, a man saves the life of another, the latter begs his saviour to become his *pobratime.* An orphan in great misery can ask the material help of a man, begging him to become her *pobratime.* The *pobratimes* protect one another constantly, and never hesitate to save each other. The wars against the Turks and the present war show innumerable examples of mutual sacrifices between the *pobratimes.* The woman who has a *pobratime* can trust him as her own brother. We have a very touching example of this. During the first half of the nineteenth century a Serbian woman of Bosnia, whose husband had been enslaved by the Turks, heard that he was in Serbia. She went there to choose a Serbian peasant for *pobratime.* With him as *compagnon* and protector for a few months she went from place to place to find her husband, not fearing calumny nor public suspicion.

A pretty custom exists also in Serbia, which consists in meeting in the monasteries, in the churches, and in the holy places of the villages (*zapisi*) to pray in common: after this they amuse themselves in the beautiful natural scenery—they dance, they sing popular ballads, celebrating the heroic past and other exploits of their ancestors. This custom is called *sabor*.

There are also many Serbian popular customs which are more or less preserved. There is a custom which remains intact everywhere up to the very borders of the Serbian country, and is most sacred and venerated, and extremely characteristic of Serbian nationality. It is the *Slava*, *Krsno ime*, *Sveti*, *Sveti dan*, as the Serbs call it. *Slava*—that is the old worship of the ancestors which, with the establishment of Christianity, transformed itself into worship of the saints (very often St. Nicholas, St. Michel Archange, St. Georges, St. Demetrius, St. Jean). The cult of the *Slava* is practised in many different and ordinary ceremonies. The most important are the family prayers, the share of the communion *pain bênit* (*Slavski Kolac*), the preparation of cooked wheat that they eat, and the festival at which all friends are guests. The *Slava* is a sacred custom for each Serb. It is transmitted from generation to generation like a precious inheritance and will disappear only with the extinction of a family. All the Serbs having the cult of the same *Slava* consider themselves as relations. The *Slava* is a custom so essentially Serbian that the Roman Catholic Serbs also practise it. Even the Mahometans who, to conform with the precepts of their religion, had to forsake it, still know that it was their *Slava*, and on a certain day make offerings to the Christian churches. There is a Serbian proverb: "There where is the *Slava* is the Serb" (*Gde je slava, tu je Srbin*). Which means that whoever practises it is Serbian. By this custom we can say that the frontiers of the Serbian country are defined.

Serbian habits and customs are seldom mentioned in writings of antiquity. That which is most frequently mentioned in historical documents is the *Slava*. We find it in Macedonia on the Lake of Ochrida already in 1018, later on in Herzegovina 1391, at Konavlia 1466, at the "Bouches of Cattaro 1772," and many times among the Serbian in Hungary in the eighteenth century. The Christmas log is mentioned at Ragusa (Badnjak) 1271.

In Serbia in the eighteenth century abduction is mentioned.

The Emperor Dusan speaks to us of the social, religious, legal and economic habits. There was a special prayer in the Middle Ages for the preservation of the custom of *pobratimstvo*. Travellers coming from the Occident and crossing the Serbian countries in the Turkish period noticed the existence of a good number of Serbian customs and traditions. The existence of some of these is revealed to us by the decrees that the Christian Church has published against them. Finally, Serbian writers of the eighteenth century in Austria also mention them. Information about these customs has only reached us accidentally.

The first collections and descriptions of them were collected by Vuk S. Karadjic (1787-1864), the founder of the "Yougoslaves Ethnographical Studies," and the father of modern Serbian literature. In his many publications he has gathered and described a great number of the Serbian customs, particularly in his "Serbian Dictionary" (*Srpski Rjecnik*, Bec, 1818), in the "Treasure," a history of the language and of the customs of the Serbian nation (*Kovcišžic za istorijuzijetik i obicaje*, 1849), and in the posthumous work, "The Habits and Customs of the Serbian People" (*Obicaji naroda srpskoga*, 1867).

Since Karadjic the collections relating to the habits and customs already constitute a considerable literature.

Recently the Yougoslave Academy at Agram and the Royal Academy of Belgrade have done much for the

research and the publication of Serbian habits and customs. The Yougoslave Academy has published 20 volumes, "Collections of the Habits and Customs" (*Zbornik za narodni život i običaje žuznih Slovena*, Zagreb, 1896, etc.). The Academy of Belgrade publishes a special series of "Habits and Customs of the Serbian People" (*Običaji naroda srpskoga*, i. 1907 ii. 1909, iii. 1912).

The scientific studies of the habits and customs among the Serbians form a literature vast and important, and their abundance and freshness have attracted the study and attention of foreign men of science.

TIH. R. GEORGEVITCH.

The more important collections of the Serbian habits and customs are: S. Ljubić, *Običajikod Morlakah u Dalmaciji*, Zagreb, 1846. M. V. G. Medaković, *Život i običaji Crnogoraca*, N. Sad, 1860. S. Popović, Risnjanin, *Adeti bosanskih Turaka*, Beograd, 1869. V. Bogošić, *Zbornik sadašnjih pravnih običaja u južnih Slovena*, Zagreb, 1874. M. Gj. Milicević, *Kneežvina Srbija*, Beograd, 1876. The same, *Kraljevina Srbija*, 1884. The same, *Život i običaji Srba seljaka*, Beograd, 1896. N. Begović, *Život i običaji Srba Graničara*, Zagreb, 1887. L. Grgjić, Bjelokosić, *Iz naroda i o narodu*, Mostar, i.-iii. 1890. A. Hangi, *Život i običaji Muslimana u Bosni i Herzegovini*, Mostar, 1900.

The works in foreign language on this subject being more accessible to the French public, we will note the following: H. Hecquard, "The Wassoevitchs, Tribe residing in the High Albania" (*Review of the East of Algeria and of the Colonies*, Paris, 1855, t. ii. pp. 273-286). Milan Gj. Militchevitch, "The Zadrouga, Studies on the Life in common among the Serbian Peasants," translated from the Serbian by Aug. Dozon (*Oriental and American Review*, Paris, 1860, t. iii. p. 401-416). Francis Levasseur, *Dalmatia, Ancient and Modern: her History, Laws, Habits, Literature, and her Monuments, etc.*, Paris, 1861. Fedor Demelić, *The Customary Right of the Meridional Slaves, from the Researches of M. V. Bogišić*, Paris, 1876. Henri Sumner Maine,

The Juridical Organisation of the Family among the Slaves of the South and among the Rajpootes, translated from English, Paris, 1878. V. Bogišić, *The Custom called Inckosna, of the Rural Family Life among the Serbes and the Croates*, Paris, 1884. Gabriel Ardent, "The Zadrouga, Patriarchal Family and the Rule of the Community in the Balkans since the Independence" (*Social Reform*, Paris, 1886, ii. series, t. i.). Emile de Laveleye, "The Communities of the Family and of the Village" (*Review of Political Economy*, Paris, June, 1888). Stoian Novacovitch, "A Popular Fête in Serbia Slava" (*Political and Literary Review*, Paris, 1888, ii. series, t. xvi.). Grant Maxwell, "The Old Serbian Customs," translated from *Chambers's Journal* (*Encyclopedist Review*, Larousse, Paris, 1893, No. 68). G. Capus, "Tattooing in Bosnia-Herzegovina" (*Bulletin of the Society of Anthropology of Paris*, 1894, t. v. No. 9). H. Sumner Maine, "South Slavonians and Rajpoots" (*Nineteenth Century*, London, 1877, December, pp. 796-918). Grant Maxwell, "Old Servian Customs: a Year of Superstition" (*Chambers's Journal*, Edinburgh, August, 1893). V. Titelbach, *The Sacred Fire among the Slavic Races of the Balkan Peninsula* (*The Open Court*, Chicago, 1901, pp. 143-149). Dr. Sima Troyanovitch, "Manners and Customs of Serbians" (Alfred Stead, *Servia by the Servians*, London, 1909, pp. 169-199). Vuk S. Karadzic, *Montenegro und Montenegriner*, 1837. Og. M. Utiešenović, *Die Hauskommunionen der Sueslaven*, Wien, 1859. Fr. Miklosich, *Die Rusalien, ein Beitrag zur slavischen Mythologie*, 1864. F. S. Krauss, *Sitte und Brauch der Sudslaven*, Vienna, 1885. Fr. Miklosich, *Die Blutrache bei den Slaven*, 1888. E. R. Vesnitch, *Die Blutrache bei den Sudslaven*, 18. F. S. Krauss, *Volksglaube und religioser Brauch der Sudslaven*, 1890. S. Ciszevsky, *Kunstliche Verwandschaft bei den Sudslaven*, 1898. A. Hangi, *Die Moslim's in Bosnien-Herzegovina, ihre Lebensweise, Sitten und Gebrauche*, Sarajevo, 1907. F. S. Krauss, *Slavische Volkforschungen* Leipzig, 1908. J. S. Yastrebov, *Običai i pesni touretskih Sezbov*, Petrograd, 1886, 11ème ed. 1889.

Besides all this much has been written on the Serbian habits and customs in the following reviews: *Archive für slavische Philologie*, *Urquelle*, *Wissenschaftliche Mitteilungen aus Bosnien und Herzegovina*, etc.

CLASSIFIED CATALOGUE OF BRAND MATERIAL.

(*Continued from* Vol. XXVII., p. 217.)

Readers are requested to assist the Brand Revision Committee by reading this list carefully, dull though the task may be, and by writing to the Committee (c/o F. A. Milne, Esq.) on the subject. The Catalogue needs supplementing on many points, and probably correcting. Information of the *recent observance* of any custom is especially welcome, even when the informant can add no further details.

C. S. BURNE,
Hon. Sec. Brand Committee.

NOVEMBER

	LOCALITY.
First Month of the "Winter Quarter" (November to February).	
Called the "Dead Quarter" - - -	Glos. (Minchinhampton).
November called the "Hanging Month" (*i.e.* suicidal month).	Hone, *E.D.B.* I. 1419. Bp. Warburton, 1749.
,, the Month of the Dead - -	Ireland.
,, the Month of Mourning - -	,,
"The Dead Days," query ?	
Dead Man's Day, November 20th - -	Ireland.
Ghosts and evil spirits powerful throughout month (see November 30th) -	Ireland.
Weddings unlucky - - - - -	Wales

Weather Omens.

Frost in November, a muddy winter	Hereford, Devon and General.
A mild winter, much sickness - -	General.
Thunder in winter, war in summer -	Wales.
"Winter thunder, summer's wonder"	English Proverb.

Occupations, etc.	LOCALITY.
Corn thrashed, beeves slaughtered.	
Wood-cutting privileges began -	Epping Forest.
Preparations for Christmas festivities began - - - - - - -	(See dates).

FESTIVALS IN NOVEMBER.

		OBSERVED.
Oct. 31st.	Hallowmas Eve or Hallowe'en	Universally.
Nov. 1st.	All Saints' Day, or Hallowmas - - - - -	Sporadically.
2nd.	All Souls' Day - - -	Sporadically.
5th.	Gunpowder Treason. - -	Generally in England, sporadically elsewhere.
9th.	Lord Mayor's Day.	
11th.	Martinmas (St. Martin) -	Universally.
17th.	St. Hugh's Day - - -	London (sporadically).
	Accession of Queen Elizabeth.	
20th.	St. Edmund the King - -	England (agricultural date only). Ireland (popular name).
22nd.	St. Cecilia - - - -	"Culture" observance only.
23rd.	St. Clement - - -	England (local). Wales (ditto).
25th.	St. Katharine - - -	England (local). Man.
30th.	St. Andrew - - - -	England. Scotland.

HALLOWMAS.

ENGLAND.

I. NAMES.		LOCALITY.
Oct. 31.	All Hallow Even - -	Warw. (Dugdale).
	All Hallows' Night -	Hampshire.
	Hallow E'en - - -	North Country.
	Hallowmas Eve - -	(Tusser).
	Hallontide Eve - -	Midlands (Glos., Salop).
	Nutcrack Night - -	Midlands and Home Counties.
	Snap-apple Night - -	Cumberland.
	Mischievous Night - -	West Riding.
	Skip-skop Night (?) -	Cornwall (Padstow).
	Cake-night - - -	Ripon.
	Teanlay Night - -	Lancs. (The Fylde).

		LOCALITY.
Nov. 1.	Hallowmas Day - -	Common.
	Ridmas ?[1] - - -	North Devon.
	Souling Day - - -	Salop and Cheshire.
Nov. 2.	Souling Day - - -	Salop and Cheshire.
	Saumas Day - - -	Whitby.
Oct. 31.		
Nov. 2.	Hollantide - - -	Lincs., Northants, Worc., Salop, Glos., Bucks, Herts, Isle of Wight, Wilts, Somerset, Cornwall.

II. Natural Phenomena.

(*a*) *Weather Omens.*

The way the wind blows indicates the prevailing wind for the quarter - - -	Derbyshire, Cotswolds.
The way the bull faces as he lies indicates the prevailing wind - - - - -	Cumberland.
Sunshine on the woods portends fat and prosperous pigs - - - - -	?
A chip cut from a beech tree, if damp, foretells a wet season ; if dry, a dry one.	
Frost at Hollantide, thaw at Christmas - - -	Bucks, Cornwall.

(*b*) *Apparitions, etc.*

Those doomed to die during the year parade through the church porch - -	Oxford.
The doomed parade through the churchyard, preceded by the parish clerk - -	Yorks. (Sedbergh).
Devil proclaimed names of doomed from pulpit -	Herefsh. (Dorstone).
(Cf. *Rites of Divination*, below.)	
If two people walk round the room opposite ways, in darkness, at midnight on Hallowe'en, they will never meet - - - - -	Yorks.

[1] More probably *Roodmas*, 14th September.

(*c*) *Witchcraft.*

	LOCALITY.
Witches are abroad (Hallowe'en)	North Country.
Witches hold assembly (Hallowe'en)	Lancs. (Pendle Hill).
Digging for treasure advised	Cornwall.

III. OBSERVANCES.

(*a*) *Bell-ringing.*

Bell-ringing during night Oct. 31 forbidden by Henry VIII.	
Revived under Mary (1556)	Lincs. (Leverton).
Customary during *both* nights; forbidden by Elizabeth.	
Ringers fined, 1561, 1564	Yorks. (Hemingboro').
Ringing on All Saints' *Day* revived	Devon (East Budleigh, All Saints).
Bell rung to proclaim dole distribution	Warw. (Solihull).

Graveyards strewn with flowers	Derbyshire (qy. localities ?).

(*b*) *Fire Customs* (*Hallow E'en*).

Unlucky to let fire out	North Country.
Augury from last sparks of a burning brand	*Ibid.*
Fire begged overnight	Devon (Mrs. Bray).
Master and Fellows went round fire in Hall, 1781	Oxford (Pembroke Coll.).
Burning straw carried round cornfields	Warwickshire.
"Lating the witches" (carrying lighted candles to expel them from their haunts)	Lancs. (Pendle).
"Teanlay" or bonfires kindled on surrounding hills, to succour souls in purgatory.	
Burning straw held up on pitchforks up to *circa* 1820	Lancs. (The Fylde).

Cf. LOCAL OBSERVANCES.

	LOCALITY.
Site called Purgatory, men ran in circle round and round fire - - -	Lancs. (Poulton Green).
Teanlay kept up till 1851, to free cornfields from tares, cattle from sickness, bring good luck, and discover future - - - -	Do. (Carlton le Fylde).
Sites of former fires marked by cairns - - -	Do. (Stonyhill, near Blackpool).
Marked stones under fires used to divine owner's fate: thrown next morning on cairns. Sick persons passed through (?) cairn and dipped in adjoining well; pins, rags or stones offered	Do. (Hardhorn near Poulton).
Bonfire at Wake: subsequent squirrel-hunt - -	Derbyshire (Duffield).
Children erect bonfire - -	Leic. (Godeby).

(*c*) *Cakes.*

A cake made (All Saints' Eve) for every member of the family, 1790 - - -	Ripon.
"Har-cake" eaten - -	Lancs. (Oldham).
"Thar-cake," 1st Monday in November - - -	Lancs.
"Parkin Sunday," 1st Sunday in November - -	West Riding.
Seed cakes given ploughmen to celebrate completion of wheat-sowing, 17th cent. -	Essex, Suffolk, Oxon. (Ambrosden), Wilts.?, Yorks.
Ditto, called "seblet cakes,"[1] about 1800 - - -	Northants.
Cakes sent to friends, called "soul-cakes" - - -	*Ibid.*
Cakes hawked, called All Holland cakes - - -	Hants.

[1] Seblet, a sower's basket.

	LOCALITY.
"Saumas" or "Soulmass" cakes, small fruit cakes -	Mid-Yorkshire.
"Saumas Loaves," square farthing cakes given by bakers to customers, kept for good luck - - -	Whitby.
Solmas Loaf (obs.) - -	Derbyshire.
Soul-cakes distributed to poor	Lancs. (Blount, 1674). Herefsh. (ditto). Salop (Aubrey, 1686).

(*d*) *Begging Customs* (*Nov. 1st and 2nd*).

Young men beg "soul-pence"	Lancs. (Marton-le-Fylde).
Children beg for soul-cakes (obs.), apples, etc., with special rhymes [1] - -	Salop, North Staffs., Cheshire.
Men beg for beer, with songs	*Ibid.*
Called "souling" - -	Salop and Staffs.
Called "soul-caking" - -	Cheshire.
Soulers act Mummers' Play of St. George, or blacken their faces, or carry "Old Hob" (a hobby-horse or "dobby-horse"); or add Christmas carols to their rhymes [2] - - - -	Cheshire.

(*e*) *Doles*.

Beer and bread distributed to all comers by Lord of Manor (Aubrey) - -	Surrey (Walton-on-Thames).
Cakes, to school-children (formerly scrambled for in church-porch) - - -	Devon (All Saints', East Budleigh).
Bread and money, to widows (by bequest) - - -	Oswestry (Sweeney Mountain).

[1] Typical rhymes: "Soul, soul, for an apple or two,
of you've got no apples, pears 'll do.
One for Peter, two for Paul,
And three for Him as made us all.
Up with the kettle and down with the pan,
Give us a good big un and we'll be gone."

[2] See *Folk-Lore*, vol. xxv. pp. 285-299.

(*f*) *Amusements.*	LOCALITY.
(i) Mischievous Pranks, Oct. 31st.	
Gates opened, door-latches tied to neighbours' doors, posts white-washed, etc.	West Riding (Kirkstall, Honley).
Nutshells thrown at windows, broken glass strewed below - -	Durham (Gainford).
"Skip-skop night." Boys strike doors with stones in slings, throw in winkle-shells, ask for money -	Cornwall (Padstow).
Nuts cracked in church, Sunday following - -	Kingston-on-Thames.
(ii) Indoor Diversions, Oct. 31st.	
Burning and cracking nuts	General.
Catching apples with the teeth (1) in a tub of water, (2) tied to a rod swinging from the ceiling, with a candle at the other end - - -	General.
Called Snap-apple - -	Durham.
,, Snatch-apple -	Lancs.
,, Hanch-apple - -	Lancs., Cumb.
,, Bob-apple (in water)	Cumb.
A large apple, called Allan Apple, given to every child - - - -	Cornwall.
(iii) Out-door games, Nov. 1st.	
"Guisarding" begins -	Northumb. (Wooler).
"Kailles" or "keels" (ninepins) - - -	Cornwall (St. Just).
"Kook" (quoits) - -	Following Monday.[1]
Wrestling - - -	,, ,,
(*g*) *Rites of Divination* (*Oct.* 31).	
Augury from marked stones placed under bonfire, afterwards thrown on cairn -	Lancs. (The Fylde).

[1] The Sunday following November 1st is St. Just Feast. Young people in service come home for holidays, Friday to Tuesday. A fair is held on the Monday.

	LOCALITY.
Burning named nuts, augury from their behaviour -	Devon, Sussex, North Country and General.
Apple-pips substituted -	Suffolk.
Roasting marked apples on string; augury from order in which they fall - -	Sussex.
Lovers' constancy augured from apple pips stuck on cheeks - - - - -	Suffolk.
Initials of future partner augured from apple parings thrown over shoulder	Notts.
Ditto, from letters of alphabet thrown into water - -	Devon.
Name augured from names rolled in balls of earth, thrown into water - -	Cornwall.
Ditto, from repeating names while swinging wedding-ring on cotton - - -	Cornwall.
Ditto, while swinging Bible on key - - - - -	Cornwall.
Fate augured from choosing between dishes of water, blindfold - - - -	Devon.
Ditto, from observing named ivy-leaves floating in water	Herefsh.
Ditto, from observing shapes of melted lead poured through door key - -	Cornwall.
Stand on Black Nab Rock, and call sweetheart's name; if submarine bells are heard, it will be a marriage	Whitby.
To see vision of future husband or wife.	
Scatter ashes in a lane; next girl who comes will be your wife - - - - -	South Yorks. ?
Sow hempseed at midnight; with formula, man appears, mowing - - - - -	Devon, Salop.
Gather sage-leaves while the clock strikes midnight -	Salop, Staffs. (Standon, Moorlands).

	LOCALITY.
Eat an apple before a mirror ; at midnight - - - -	Devon, Salop, Sheffield.
Go upstairs to bed backwards, in silence - - - - -	Yorks. (Swaledale).
Bake and eat " dumb-cake "	Isle of Axholme.
Eat a salt herring, and go to bed backwards ; man offers drink - - - - -	Isle of Axholme.
Place shoes in form of T, with formula, get into bed backwards without further words - - - - -	Derbyshire.
Sleep with a crooked sixpence and a sprig of rosemary under the pillow ; man appears in dreams -	Derbyshire.
Sleep with " Allan apple " under pillow, eat it under a tree next morning before dressing - - - - -	Cornwall.
Wash and dry a shift at midnight ; lover comes and turns it - - - - -	Sussex, Salop, Norfolk.
Lay supper on table, at midnight ; man will come and partake - - - -	Oxford, Cheshire (Tranmere).
Watch in church porch to see those doomed to die during year - - - - -	Durham (Gainford).

IV. Local Festival Observances.

Mayor, Sheriff, and Council offered at All Hallowen Church, and had " ffyres, and drynkynges at the Maire's place with spiced Cakebrede and sondry wynes " -	Bristol (1479).
" Word-ale " to pray for the Abbot of Stanley who granted freedom from tithe. Ceremonial health-drinking (Aubrey) - - - -	North Wilts.
Guild Festival—down to 16th century (bread and cheese and beer provided, prayers for brethren departed ; Guilds of St. Mary,	

	LOCALITY.
St. John, St. James, and Corpus Christi) - - - - -	Norfolk (Elmham).
Dedication Festival, 1523 - -	Kingston-on-Thames.
Hiring Fair - - - - -	Yorks. (Richmond).
Fair held (" Holland Fairy ") -	Glos. (Cirencester).
" Tansey Feast " (Church, All SS.)	East Riding (Walkington).

V. BUSINESS TRANSACTIONS.

" Lords of Misrule " enter on office; held till Candlemas - - -	City of London.
Lopping wood allowed - - (Changed, 1753, to Nov. 12th.)	Epping Forest (Loughton Manor).
" Aves Court " held. Woodmote Court three weeks later: presentment of abuses of rights made and pannage or " aves money " paid - - - -	Sussex (Duddleswell),
Eccl. Rent of Gloves paid on the High Altar (1536) - - -	Devon (Thurlestone).
Dues arising from fruits of earth payable (White Kennett, 1695)	Oxon.

WALES.

I. NAMES.

31*st October*.	Nos cyn calan ganaf. November Eve.	
	Snotching Night -	South Wales.
	Apple-snatching night - - -	West Wales.
1*st November*.	Nos calan ganat (the leg or first foot of winter).[1]	
Oct. 31–*Nov.* 2.	Hollantide.	

II. NATURAL PHENOMENA.

(*a*) *Omens.*

East wind on October 31 foretells prevailing wind for winter quarter; fair weather and open winter -	Oswestry.

[1] Formerly reckoned the end of summer. (Translation *Llywarch Hen*, ed. 1792.)

	LOCALITY.
Wind "blowing over the feet of the corpses"[1] bears sighs to the houses of those doomed to die during year	South Wales.
Listeners to wind at cross-roads learn events of coming year - - - -	South Wales.
Crows coming round the house foretell death - -	South Wales.

(*b*) *Apparitions.*

One of the "three spirit nights."[2]	
"On November Eve there is a bogy at every stile" -	North Cardigan.
On November Eve there is a ghost at every cross-road or stile - - - -	South Wales.
An old woman carding and spinning haunted stiles -	South Wales.
A short-tailed black sow did so; sometimes thus employed - - - -	Montgomery and North Wales.
The devil in animal form did so on the Three Spirit Nights. He haunted "Sogram's Stone"; on other winter midnights a white lady did so - -	South Wales, Pembrokeshire (St. Dogmael's).
Evil spirit announces year's deaths in church porch -	Montgomeryshire (Aberhafesp.).
Ditto, from the altar - -	Denbighsh. (Llangerniew).
Dangerous to sleep in cromlech: sleeper will be either mad, dead, or a poet -	Vale of Glamorgan.
Dangerous to go out after dark - - - -	Vale of Glamorgan.

(*c*) *Witchcraft.*

Witches hold assembly, are specially powerful.	

[1] *i.e.* from the west?

[2] The others were May-Eve and Midsummer-Eve.

III. Observances.	Locality.
(*a*) *Precautions.*	
Children warned not to be out after dark.	
"Wicken" (mountain ash) hung in rooms to protect from witchcraft - -	Pembrokesh.
Ground-ivy worn at church to detect witches in congregation - - -	Montgomerysh.
Bathing eyes in sacred wells.	
(*b*) *Fire Customs* (31*st Oct.*).	
Mountains covered with bonfires - - - - -	*Arch. Camb.* 1831.
A bonfire for every household	N. Wales (Pennant's *Tour*).
White stones thrown into bonfire, if one missing next day, thrower will die -	,, ,, ,,
Running through fire and smoke - - - - -	,, ,, ,,
Running away at conclusion to escape black sow (see above) - - - - -	,, ,, ,,
Continued longer in North than in South Wales; especially in - - - (*Celtic F.L.* p. 224.)	Carnarvonshire.
Burning straw carried about.	
(*c*) *Viands* (31*st Oct.*).	
Supper of parsnips, nuts and apples - - - - -	(Pennant.)
Supper of mixed vegetables, mashed with milk.	
A ring hidden in the dish for divination - - -	Montgomerysh.
Cakes eaten with "cake ale" to keep away evil spirits -	South Wales.
Large muffins sent to friends	Cardiganshire.
(*d*) *Begging Customs.*	
"Souling," Oct. 31st. Children only, formerly	

	LOCALITY.
men and women. Apples given. Welsh words introduced into English ditty -	Montgomeryshire (Llanyblodwel, 1893). Oswestry (Shropshire, 1894), English Border.
Children say (in Welsh) they "ask for food as messengers of the dead." Coins, apples, or bread and butter given - - - - -	Denbighshire (Llangwm, Llanfihangel, G.M., Cerrig-y-druidion).
Nov. 1. (All SS.). Seed cakes distributed, poor prayed for next year's crop	Denbighsh. (Llanasaph).
Nov. 1. Women and children begged for barley cakes, called *solod*. Apples or bread and cheese might be given. Welsh ditty -	Merionethshire (Corwen, 1855).
Nov. 1. Children begged for bread and cheese, called *bara chawse*. Different ditty (Welsh) - - -	Merionethshire (Dinas Mawddwy, 1850).
Oct. 31 and Nov. 1. Children and old women. Different ditty (Welsh) - - -	Cardiganshire (Llandyfeilog).
Nov. 2. All Souls' Day. Barley bread baked at farmhouses and given with cheese to the poor - -	Pembrokeshire (Laugharne, 1883).
Nov. 2. All Souls' Day. Bread, called *bara ran* or dole bread, begged for souls of departed by "poor of every persuasion" - -	Monmouthshire, 1801
English Souling ditty sung at end of Christmas Carols -	Monmouthshire (Newport, 1911).
"Gwrachod" (hags), masked men, went about in sheep-	

	LOCALITY.
skins and old clothes, begging money	Montgom. (Llanfyllin).
"Hobby-horse" in white sheet led about	South Wales.

(*e*) *Amusements.*

Cracking and burning nuts.	
"Bobbing" for apples or sixpences in a tub of water	Denbighsh., Cardigansh.
Catching with the teeth apples suspended on a rod with candle at opposite end	S. Wales, Cardigansh

(*f*) *Rites of Divination.*

White stones named, buried under bonfire: or marked stones thrown into it, augury from their appearance next morning.	
Burning named nuts, augury from their behaviour (grains of wheat sometimes substituted)	S. Wales, Denbighsh.
White of egg dropped into water; augury from shapes assumed	Oswestry Border.
Ring suspended by enquirer's hair over glass of water; augury from vibrations	Oswestry Border.
Touching bowls of water, blindfolded; augury from choice	Oswestry Border and Montgomerysh.
Apple-peeling thrown over shoulder, to discover initial of future partner	Carmarthensh.
Salt cake eaten to induce dreams	Cardigansh.
Nine kinds of wood in stocking, put under pillow to induce dreams.	Cardigansh.
Apple peeled and eaten before a mirror, to induce vision	? Radnor, Cardigansh.
Pins stuck in a candle; last pin drops out at midnight and future husband appears	Denbigh.

	LOCALITY.
Linen washed and dried in bedroom at night; lover will appear to turn it -	South Wales, Oswestry Border.
Ladder of yarn thrown out of window; lover ascends -	South Wales.
Ball of yarn thrown out and rewound; lover holds end	Oswestry Border.
Sowing hemp-seed, with formula; lover appears -	Denbighsh.
Walk round leek-bed, carrying seed, with formula; lover appears - - -	Carmarthensh.
Go backwards to leek-bed and place knife there; lover will pick it up - -	South Wales.
Gather sage-leaves at midnight - - - - -	Montgomerysh.
Gather grass under holly at midnight; augury from hair found among it -	Montgomerysh.
Or from hair found in moss - - - - -	Cardigansh.
Walk round the house carrying a glove, "here is the glove, where is the hand?" Lover appears - - -	Central Cardigansh.
Walk 9 times round dung-heap, carrying shoe; "here is shoe, where is foot?" - - - - -	South Cardigansh.
Walk 7 or 9 times round church, carrying knife; "here is knife, where is sheath?" - - -	Cardigansh.
Named candles lighted by sexton in church; auguries from them - - -	Near Machynlleth (Rev. Silvan Evans).

To know who will die during the year.

Go round the church, peep through keyhole (or window, 1831); spirit calls names - - - - -	Cardigansh.

	LOCALITY.
Go round church seven times (three times, S. Wales), peep through keyhole, visions of doomed appear - -	Montgomerysh.
Watch in porch ; apparitions of doomed pass out	South Wales.

IV. LOCAL FESTIVAL OBSERVANCE.

Mayoral Banquet ; presents to new Mayor, 1801 - - - - -	Oswestry.

V. BUSINESS TRANSACTIONS.

Hiring Fairs (kept by O.S.) - -	Llandilo (nr. Swansea).
(Half-yearly hiring) - - -	Montgom. (Llansantffraid).

Planting fruit-trees and quickthorns.

SCOTLAND.

I. NAMES.	LOCALITY.
Samhain (first day of winter) [1] -	Highlands and Hebrides.
All Saints' Day - - - -	Highlands and Hebrides.
Hallowmas - - - - -	General.
Hallow E'en, the Eve of Hallowmas	General.

II. NATURAL PHENOMENA.

Fairies ride - - - - -	Highlands and Hebrides, Borders (Nithsdale).
Fairies ride on cats - - -	Galloway (Dalry).
Fairies ride, dance, and cast knots	North-east.
Fairy Court rides, human captives recoverable - - - -	*Tale of Tamlane*
The dead return to earth - -	Galloway, Renfrew, Ayrshire, Highlands and Hebrides.
Witches hold assemblies—"Hallowmas Rade" - - - -	Galloway (Nithsdale).
Witches are abroad - - -	Galloway (Kirkpatrick).

[1] Should it fall on Wednesday, forebodes hard winter.

III. General Observances.	Locality.
(*a*) *Propitiatory and Precautionary Rites.*	
First-footing	Caithness (Wick).
Almsgiving	Outer Hebrides.
Pouring ale into the sea	Lewis (see § iv.).
Sprinkling boats and houses	Orkney.
Bathing in lochs	Caithness, Galloway (see § iv.).
Rites with Fire.	
Hair of cattle singed with burning rag	Orkney, 1633.
Cattle lustrated with fire, ammonia, water and salt, together with prayers and charms	Highlands and Hebrides.
Rowan-tree branches burnt before house, to keep away witches : (Highlander in)	Fife.
Torches carried round fields to purge out evil spirits and to ensure fertility	Perthshire (Braemar).
Burning peat carried round homestead	Outer Hebrides.
Sweeping round peat-stack, to preserve peats [1]	Sutherland.
House-fire kept alight	Borders.
Unlucky to give fire out of the house, 1780	(Locality ?).
(*b*) *Bonfire Customs.*	
Bonfires forbidden by Presbytery, 1648	Fife.
Bonfires customary	Highlands, Hebrides, Moray, Buchan, North-east, Perthsh., Renfrewsh., and West.
One for every house	Highlands and Hebrides, Perth (Balquhidder), 1888.
,, each village	Perth (Callander), 1770-80.
,, ,, and isolated farm, to burn the witches	North-east.
Numerous, 1860	Head of Loch Tay.

[1] See *Divination* below.

	LOCALITY
Kindled near cornfields, 1775 [1]	Moray.
Circled with torches - -	Moray.
Youths ran through smoke -	North-east.
Ashes scattered afterwards -	North-east.
,, ,, against will of owners - - -	Buchan.
Stones for divination placed in ashes [2] - - -	Callander.

(*c*) *Viands.*

"Bonnach Samhthain" (Hallowtide bannocks) -	Highlands.
Triangular cake, must be finished same night - -	St. Kilda.
Mashed potatoes, with ring, sixpence, and button (see (*f*) below) - - -	Highlands and Hebrides, Fife (Kennoway), Galloway (Minnigaff).

(*d*) *Begging Customs.*

Children visit houses; beg apples, nuts, mashed potatoes, etc. - - -	Galloway (Balmaghie).
Children perform Mummers' Play - - - -	Galloway (Balmaghie, Lauriston).
Children sing rhymes - -	Edinburgh, Forfarshire.

(*e*) *Amusements.*

(i) Mischievous Pranks.

Boys knock on doors with cabbage stalks - -	Caithness, Fife (Newburgh).

(ii) Outdoor or Public Diversions.

Masking or mumming; followed by feast and dance of performers -	Shetland.

(iii) Indoor Diversions.

Ducking for apples in a tub of water - -	Highlands and Hebrides.
Repeating Gaelic formula standing on one leg (girls) (Cf. next section.)	*Ibid.*

[1] Usually on knolls or rising ground.

[2] See *Divination* below.

(*f*) *Rites of Divination.*	LOCALITY.
Augury from first kailstock (cabbage-stalk), pulled (in neighbour's garden, Highl. and Hebr.), of looks of future husband ; if put over door, it discovers name ; under pillow, procures dreams - - -	Ayrshire, North-east, Highlands and Hebrides.
Garter tied, blindfold, round kailstock, betokens number of family - - - -	Shetland.
Straw drawn from stack at hazard[1] placed under pillow gives dreams of destined husband ; number of grains indicates number of children ; if leading grain ("tap-pickle") be wanting, forebodes unchastity - - - - -	Ayrshire, etc.
Luck in love augured from burning named nuts -	Ayrshire, Lowlands, Fife, North-east, Highlands and Islands.
Peas may replace nuts -	North-east.
Lot in life augured from dropping white of egg in liquid - - - - -	Shetland, Caithness, Cromarty, Highlands, Hebrides, Forfar, Fife.
Ditto, from dropping melted lead in water - - -	North-east.
Luck in marriage augured from blindfold choice between three dishes of water[2] - - - - -	Ayr, Fife, North-east, Highlands, Hebrides.
Ditto, from ring, sixpence, and thimble in dish of mashed potatoes - -	Fife (Kennoway).

[1] A bean-stack, Ayrshire ; any grain-stack, North-east ; the "skroo" or "Broonie's stack," Shetland.

[2] *Six* dishes. (Goodrich-Freer, *Outer Isles.*)

	LOCALITY.
Ring in porridge or mashed potatoes indicates next bride - - -	Hebrides.
Apple-paring thrown over left shoulder gives initial of future partner - -	Lowlands.
Name of future partner discovered by touching written names blindfold. -	Highlands, Hebrides.
Ditto, by holding water in the mouth and listening at neighbour's window for first time heard - -	*Ibid.*
Ditto, by holding piece bitten from harvest-cart in the mouth, listening as before	*Ibid.*
Colour of hair augured from hair found in a mouthful of earth from the top sod of the house-wall or from over the lintel, taken indoors - - - - -	*Ibid.*
Or from hair found in straw drawn from thatch - -	Aberdeen (Fraserburgh).
Or from hair found in broken turf placed over live coal in water. - - -	Orkney.
Or from putting burning peat in water used for washing feet - - - - -	Highlands, Hebrides.
Vision of future husband procured by placing 3 pails of water in bedroom and fastening 3 holly-leaves to nightdress - - -	Borders
Ditto, by washing "sark" and drying it in bedroom; he will come and turn it -	*Ibid.*
Sark must be dipped in water from a well "which brides and burials pass over" -	Renfrewsh. (Eastwood, 1689).
"From a ford where the dead and the living cross" Left sleeve only dipt; in south-running water	North-east and Shetland.

	LOCALITY.
" where three lairds' lands meet " - - - - -	Ayrshire (Burns), Highlands, Hebrides.
To procure dreams of the destined husband sleep with three stones from a boundary stream under the pillow - - -	Highlands, Hebrides.
Or read Ruth iii. and sleep with Bible under pillow -	Sutherland.
Or tie three knots in left garter while repeating a charm, and sleep with it under pillow - - -	Lowlands.
Or eat salt cake, or " sooty skon " (a scone mixed with soot) - - - - -	Highlands, Hebrides.
To procure vision of destined husband, eat an apple before a mirror - -	Ayrsh., Galloway, Highlands and Islands North-east.
Vision of future life obtained by sifting silver coins before a mirror - -	Shetland.
To call up apparition of destined husband " riddle " (sift) keys in the barn alone	Highlands, Hebrides.
Or winnow three " wechts of naething " (empty sieves) in barn with both doors open ; future husband will pass through - - -	Ayrsh., North-east.
Or enquirer passes through barn carrying partly-knitted stocking ; apparition meets her - -	Galloway.
Or winnows grain in the Devil's name - - -	Highlands, Hebrides
Or walks backwards, blindfold, over three harrows and into barn - - -	Shetland.
Enquirer sows (and harrows, Ayrshire) hemp-seed (" lint " (flax) seed, North-	

	LOCALITY.
east),[1] saying charm; apparition follows, mowing -	Ayrsh., North-east, Highlands and Hebrides.
Enquirer "fathoms" (measures) a stack with outstretched arms three times (six, Shetland), and embraces apparition - -	Ayrsh., Shetland, North-east.
Enquirer throws ball of blue wool—otherwise a ball spun by herself from the fleece of a ram lamb (a heather rope, Uist)—down the flue of a kiln (a water-mill, Shetland), winds again, and asks, "Who holds the end of my clue?" destined husband appears - -	North-east, Shetland, Uist.
Future events augured from throwing shoe over house -	Highlands and Hebrides.
Fate of individuals augured from named stones placed under bonfire, examined next morning - - -	Perthsh., 18th cent.
Holes dug; death or marriage augured from anything found in them next morning or from anything found in buried flesh - - -	Outer Hebrides, Highlands and Islands.
Winter's weather (November-April) augured from "milt" (spleen) of slaughtered "mert" (winter beast) - - -	Shetland.

IV. Special Local Observances.

Hallowmas *Kirn* or Harvest Home	Harviestoun.
Ale poured out to sea-god Shony to implore supply of sea-ware -	Lewis.

[1] Over nine ridges of plough-land. (Highlands and Islands.)

Lochs visited.	LOCALITY.
1st Sunday in November -	Galloway (Mechrum Loch).
1st Monday ,, -	Caithness (Dunnet and St. John's Lochs).
One year, forty days, Purgatory remitted by Pope Nicholas, 1290, to pilgrims to - - - -	All SS. Church, Kinghorn (Fife).
Allhallowmas Fair. Proclaimed by Bailies, Council, etc., 16th cent. Sheriff rode boundaries of Commons on Even, musicians played twice a day during the fair, 1556) - - - -	Edinburgh.
Allhallow Fair, by charter, 1538. (Slaughter of winter beeves; bonfire of commandeered fuel; quarrels fought out) - - -	Annan.
Fair held 1st Thursday in November	Haddingtonshire (Cockenzie).

IRELAND.

I. Names.

Samhain (pronounced "sowan"), Allhallowtide.[1]	
Hollantide, Allhallowtide.	
Oidche shamhna, "the night of Samhain," All Hallow Eve.	
Snap-apple Night All Hallow Eve.	
Nutcrack Night. ,, ,, ,,	
Holy or Holly Eve - - -	Ulster.
November Eve - - - -	Connaught.
November Night, - - -	Connaught.

II. Natural Phenomena.

(*a*) Devil blights sloes, haws, and blackberries - - - -	Co. Roscommon.
All divinations performed in Devil's name - - - -	Co. Leitrim.
(*b*) Phooka very dangerous - -	Co. Down.
Fairies abduct mortals - -	General.

[1] The half-year is still usually reckoned from Samhain to Bealtine, or May-day.

	LOCALITY.
Fairies seen at cross-roads -	(Wood Martin, ii. 12).
Stolen mortals ride with them	Co. Leitrim.
Unbaptised babies escape from them - - - - -	Co. Mayo.
Fairies flitting should not be watched - - - -	West Coast Islands.
Fairies go through houses [1]	West Coast Islands.
Fairies attack cattle - -	West Coast Islands.
Fairies and spirits meet, mortals should remain indoors -	West Coast Islands.
(*c*) Danger from spirit-world -	Co. Clare.
Dead reappear - - -	General.
Dead released from Purgatory 48 hours (Oct. 31 to Nov. 2) -	Co. Louth (Kilcurry).
Dead walk at Toome Church (so living must never look behind) - - - - -	Toome Island.
Dead dance ; mortals must not look at them - - -	Western Islands (Shark Island).
Dead have power over all things and hold festival with fairies - - - - -	Western Islands.
Dead visit their homes, 2nd November.	
Dead called up, answer questions, must be sprinkled with blood - - - - -	(Wood Martin, *Elder Faiths*, ii. 274).

III. General Observances.

(*a*) *Hospitality to Dead* (*Nov. 1st. All Souls' Eve*).	
Fire and food left for them -	Mourne Mts.
Chairs set and water left -	Co. Cavan.
(*b*) *Precautions*.	
Food and fire not given out of house - - - - -	Wicklow.
Salt put in milk if given away	Mayo.
Drink avoided (Wilde, *Anc. Cures*, p. 123).	
Salt put on child's head (Andrews, p. 15) - -	Ulster.

[1] Remedy, new door made.

	LOCALITY.
Precautions against witches (see Kennedy, *Leg. Fict.* p. 165).	

(*c*) *Bonfire Customs.*

Burning pole carried through village.
Embers scattered.[1]
Candles burnt (Hall, i. 394).

(*d*) *Viands.*

Colcannon.	
Potatoes mashed with milk, formerly with beans -	Co. Down.
"Champ" - - - -	Dublin.
"Granbree" (boiled wheat, buttered and sweetened) -	Co. Longford (**Shruel**).
Barmbreac - - - -	Co. Leitrim.
Other special cakes - -	Co. Roscommon
Lamb's wool.	
Food collected from house to house in name of St. Columbkille.	

(*e*) *Amusements.*

(i) Mischievous Pranks.

Gardens raided, tricks played with cabbages, gates taken off hinges, doors and door-knockers tied - - - - -	Ulster, Connaught.
Running through house in white sheet, carrying plate of burning whiskey	Leitrim.

(ii) Indoor Diversions.

Burning nuts - - -	Derry (Maghera), Queen's County.
Ducking for apples or coins	Roscommon.
Catching apples hung on string with teeth - -	Roscommon, Leitrim, Queen's County.

(*f*) *Divinatory Rites.*

Augury of future husband's appearance from pulling cabbage-stalks blindfold -	Leitrim, Queen's County.

[1] Cf. Vallancey, and *Gent. Mag. Lib.*, "Popular Superstitions."

	LOCALITY.
Augury of luck in love from burning named nuts (*F.L.* R. iv. 101) - - - -	Queen's County.
Ditto, from "building the house" of 24 holly-twigs, named and tied in pairs, set round live coal; observe which catches fire first.	
Ditto, from counting thorns in holly-leaf, grains in head of corn, pebbles in chance handful.	
Husband's name discovered from first name, or voice, overheard while holding 9 grains of oats in the mouth	Co. Cork, Co. Roscommon.
Augury of fate from shape of melted lead dropt through key-loop into water - -	Leitrim, Queen's Co.
Ditto, from touching plates containing coin, etc., hidden in cake or colcannon. -	Leitrim, Roscommon.
To procure dreams of the destined lover:	
Take an egg from the nest in a three-cornered handkerchief, roast, eat shell and all, never touching with hand - - -	Connaught.
Boil a hen's first egg hard, eat in three bites without salt - - - -	*Ibid.*
Make cakes of egg, meal, and salt, eat - -	Leitrim.
Steal a salt herring and eat it raw - - - - -	Connaught.
Eat a herring, bones and all; look in the glass at midnight - - - -	Mayo.
Put the first bit, middle bit, and last bit of supper under the pillow - -	Connaught.
Put a distaff under a man's pillow - - - -	*Ibid.*

	LOCALITY.
"Boys" gather 10 ivy-leaves, put 9 under pillow - - - -	Leitrim.
Pull yarrow plant, repeating charm, put under girl's pillow - - -	Leitrim, Wicklow.
Creep under looped briar (one rooted at both ends) in Devil's name, cut it, and put under pillow -	Leitrim.
Comb your hair before the glass in the name of the Trinity - - -	Connaught.

To procure visions or apparitions :

Go round a looking-glass three times, stick pins in an apple ; future partner seen in glass.	
Wash garment in running brook (*var.*, at the fire) ; lover will come and turn it - - - - -	Connaught.
Throw ball of yarn into limekiln (*var.*, from window, and repeat Paternoster backwards). Wind up, and ask, "Who holds my clue ?"	
Sow hempseed with charm ; lover mows.	
Eat half of handful of new wheat, throw rest into stream ; future husband will take hold of girl to prevent her falling in -	Connaught.
Winnow grain in riddle (sieve).	
Rake round rick nine times ; destined partner will take rake - - - -	Co. Leitrim.
Run round haystack three times, and stick black-handled knife in ; who draws it out is destined partner.	

To foretell events of coming year :	LOCALITY
Rake ashes smooth overnight and observe footmarks in morning; tracks inwards mean life ; outwards, death - -	Co. Leitrim.

IV. LOCAL OBSERVANCES.

The "Muck-olla," an organized procession begging for farm-produce, headed by a kind of Hobby Horse called the *Lair Bhan*, or white mare. (Wood Martin, *Elder Faiths*, ii. 268) -	District between Ballycotton and Trabolgan.
Nov. 1. Guild-plays performed (Warburton, i. 108) - - -	Dublin.

ISLE OF MAN.

I. NAMES.

Sauin (Irish, Samhain).
Oie Houney (Allhallows Even, Oct. 31st).
Laa Houney (All Saints' Day, Nov. 1st).
Hollantide (Hallowmas).
(Kept by Old Style, so falls on Nov. 11th, 12th, coinciding with Martinmas, New Style.)

II. NATURAL PHENOMENA.

Persons born this night (Oie Houney) can perceive and converse with supernatural beings.
Fairies hold dances and visit houses.
Phynnodorees, witches, and ghosts, also abroad ; fairies strongest.

III. GENERAL OBSERVANCES.

(*a*) Food and water left at night for fairies (Oie Houney).

(*b*) *Fire Customs.*

Bonfires, as on May Eve, "to burn out the witches."

(*c*) *Viands.*

Fish, potatoes, and parsnips, mashed together (supper, Oie Houney).

(*d*) *Amusements.*

Mummers perform (obs.).
Youths knock on doors with cabbage-stalks, or cabbages tied to sticks ; sing a New Year carol ;[1] expect gifts—herrings, potatoes, etc.
Ducking for apples.
Burning nuts.

(*e*) *Divinatory Rites.*

Augury of future husband's name from name overheard at *next door but one*, listening with mouth full of water and hands of salt.
Augury of fate from molten lead dropt in water.
Augury of fate from touching dishes blindfolded.
Dreams of future husband procured by eating a *stolen* salt herring and going to bed backwards.
Dreams of future husband procured by making and eating " Dumb Cake " (all young women in household must join in making).

Auguries of Life or Death from :

Ivy-leaves named for each inmate, left overnight and examined in morning.
Thimblefuls of salt turned out on board, named for each inmate ; if one falls during night, it portends death.
Ashes smoothed on hearth, footprints found next morning pointing outwards portend a death ; pointing inwards, a marriage (or a birth?).

IV. Local Observances.

Hollantide Fair, November 12th.

V. Business Transactions (Laa Houney).[2]

Tenancies and Situations entered upon.

[1] *Refrain* : " Hog-annaa, trolla-laa," or " Hop-dy-naw," " hop-tu-naa," " hob-ju-naa." This is the " Hogmanay " of Scotland, here demanded at Hallowmas.

[2] Sir John Rhys points out (*Celtic Folklore*, p. 320) that in Manxland, Hollandtide is still the beginning of the year for farmers and labourers, and that the songs and mummings associated with it obviously point to a New Year Festival, observed on November 1st instead of January 1st. He had even known Manxlanders discuss the question, to which date the name New Year's Day ought properly to be applied.

GUNPOWDER TREASON.

NOVEMBER 4TH.

ENGLAND.

I. NAMES.	LOCALITY.
"Mischievous Night" (boys play tricks)	West Riding (Kirkstall, Normanton).
"Ringing Night" (Ringers' Rules not enforced)	Cornwall (Polperro, etc.).
II. OBSERVANCES.	
Church bells rung	Cornwall, Devon (East Budleigh to 1884).
"Babbling" (striking doors with stones in leathern bags)	Holderness (Otteringham, Keyingham).
"Flapping" (beating the church pews—and presently each other—with pieces of leather attached to string, while the bells rang)	Holderness (Otteringham, Ross, Skirlough).
Children "holloa for biscuits"; scrambled for in churchyard [1] up to 1884	East Budleigh.
Annual Dinner of "Corporation of St. Pancras," by which diners became Free Burgesses	Chichester.

GUNPOWDER TREASON.

NOVEMBER 5TH.

ENGLAND.

I. NAMES.	LOCALITY.
Guy Fawkes' Day	General.
Bonfire Night	Sussex.
Carnival Day	Cornwall (North).
Gowayes Day	Northumberland (Gateshead).

[1] Date changed to November 1, 1884.

	LOCALITY.
Liberty Day	Yorks. (Normanton).
Ringing-Day	Lancs. (Rochdale and Rossendale).
	Yorks. (E. Riding).

II. NATURAL PHENOMENA wanting.

III. GENERAL OBSERVANCES.

(*a*) *Bell Ringing.*

Church bells rung	Berks. (Reading).
	Devon.
	Lancs. (Rochdale and Rossendale).
	Leicestershire.
	Middlesex (Harlington).
	Northumberland (Gateshead).
	Warwick (23 instances noted).
Called "shooting the Guy"	Lincs. (Lenton, Ingoldsby).
Ringin' Suppers held	Yorks. (E. Riding, Otteringham).
	Middlesex (Harlington).
Curfew begins	Salop (Middle).
	Worcester (Pershore).
Waits play on Church Steeple	Doncaster (1780).

(*b*) *Bonfire Customs.*[1]

Fuel collected in country	Common.
Called "going-a-chubbing"	Yorks.
Called "going-a-progging"	Oxon.
Money collected in towns	Customary.
Rhymes sung or shouted	Customary.[2]

[1] Called Bonefire (South Yorks.), General; Bunfire (Halifax and South-west), Bunfire and Bonefire (Mid-Yorkshire), Bean-fire (North-west), Bunfire (Worc.).

[2] Some typical specimens:

The 5th of November, since I can remember,
Gunpowder treason and plot!
This is the day when the plot was contrived
To blow up the King and Parliament alive,
But God's mercy did prevent
To save our King and his Parliament.
A stick and a stake for King George's sake!

	LOCALITY.
Effigy of Guy Fawkes paraded, afterwards burnt -	Beds., Cambs.
	Cornwall (Launceston and North).
	Devon, Durham.
	Glos. (Bristol, Nailsworth, Minchinhampton).
	Hants. (Southampton).
	Hereford.
	Kent (Tunbridge Wells).
	Leicester.
	Middlesex (Hampstead).
	Norfolk, Notts., Oxon.
	Salop (Ludlow).
	Surrey (Haslemere, Horsell, Guildford).
	Sussex.
	Warwick (Coventry).
	Westmoreland.
	Worcester, etc., etc.
Effigy of local personage, ditto.	Devon (Beesands).
	Essex (Baxted).
	Glos. (Nailsworth).
	Lincs. (Kirton-in-Lindsey).
	Oxon. (Headington).
	Salop (Ludlow).
No effigy - - - - -	Glos. (Randwick and District).
	Hants. (Liphook).
	Lincs. (Sussex (Bosham).
	Wilts. (Chippenham Dis.).
	Worc. (Alvechurch, etc.).
	West Riding (Swaledale, Wakefield).[1]

If you don't give one, I'll take two!
The better for me and the worse for you! (Oxon.)

Remember, remember, the fifth of November,
Gunpowder treason and plot!
I see no reason why Gunpowder treason
Should ever be forgot.
Holla, boys! holla boys! make the bells ring!
Holla, boys! holla boys! God save the King! (General.)

[1] These lists are obviously very imperfect.

	LOCALITY.
Living man personates Guy Fawkes	Devon (Ilfracombe). Kent (Ramsgate). Somerset (Bridgwater).
Party wear masks and fancy costume	Cambs. and Common. (See IV. below.)
Fireworks let off	Common.
Rival fires lighted	Yorks. (Normanton).
Youths run through fire and smoke	Sussex (Lewes). Lincs. (Dorrington ?).
Burning tar-barrels rolled down-hill	Glos. (Stroud).
Ditto, thrown into river	Lewes.

(*c*) *Other Amusements.*

(i) Mischief and Lawlessness :	
"Playing the very balti-orum" (rowdyism)	Whitby.
Rioting	Guildford.
Town and Gown Rows	Oxford.
Barring-out the school-master	Yorks. (North Riding).
Shooting game without a license (supposed to be legal)	Lincs. (Bottesford, Kirton-in-Lindsey). Yorks. (Carlton-in-Cleveland).
(ii) Card-playing begins	South Devon.
Mumming begins	Exeter.

(*d*) *Viands.*

Cakes specially baked and eaten with treacle	Kent (Ramsgate).
"November cake"	Derby.
"Parkin"	Lancs. (Bury). Yorks. (Swaledale, Normanton, Huddersfield).
Sponge-cakes (case of, given)	London (Fishmongers' Company).

	LOCALITY.
Tharf-cakes or Thar-cakes -	Cumberland and Durham, Derby, Lancs. (Oldham). W. Riding.
Toffee (Tom Trots) - -	N. Riding, Swaledale.
Leg of pork at Ringers' Supper	Middlesex (Harlington).

IV. Special Local Observances.

Brighton.—Organized celebration, mock bishop preached.

Folkestone (and Hampstead).—Procession officially organized, "Carnival Society" collects money for hospital. No bonfires and no effigies.

Guildford.—Organized procession to replace old riotous procession of disguised and armed men who wrecked private enemies, stole wood, etc., prior to 1868.

Hastings.—Officially organized procession and bonfire. Herrings said to "come to the bonfire," usually first caught next day.

Lewes Bonfire Clubs elect mock "bishop" and have mock "service" and "prayers," organize several processions with fancy dress, torches, banners, fireworks, etc. Clubs join for "Grand Procession" to light three bonfires—effigies burnt at each. Tar-barrels thrown into the river. Young men run through flames.

Rye.—"Borough Bonfire Boys" organize procession, with bonfire and effigy.

Worcester Corporation provided fuel, supper, and drinks for bonfire celebration up to 1789.

Fairs.	LOCALITY.
Carnival-day Fair - - -	Cornwall (North of Duchy).
"Ringin'-Day Fair" - -	Yorks. (E. Riding, Beverley).

WALES.

Nov. 5th.

Guy carried round whilst boys beg wood for bonfire and sing rhyme, half Welsh, half English - -	Merionethshire (Corwen and General).
Squibs let off.	
Tar-barrels rolled down Stow Hill Street - - - - -	Monmouth (Newport).

SCOTLAND.

Nov. 5th.	LOCALITY.
Boys shout rhyme - - - -	Edinburgh.
Castle guns fired (once customary)	Edinburgh.
Solemn thanksgiving ordained by Town Council, 1662; bonfires ordered - - - - - -	Aberdeen.
Children go about with turnip cut and painted to represent human face, and beg for "a ha'p'ny to burn me Pope" - - - -	Orkney (*N. & Q.* 28th Nov. 1908).

IRELAND.

Nov. 4th.	
Bellman's cautionary rhyme -	Dublin.

CHANNEL ISLANDS.

Nov. 5th.	
Bonfires with guys (burning the "*bout de l'an*" transferred from Dec. 31), introduced of late years	Guernsey.

(*To be continued.*)

COLLECTANEA.

Notes on Irish Folklore.

(Continued from Vol. XXVII. p. 426.)

Legends of Ardmore, Co. Waterford.

The legends and superstitions that cluster round the venerable and beautiful ruins of Ardmore Abbey, with its Round Tower and the halo of sanctity which illuminates the memory of its saintly founder and his learned successors, are most quaint, but no doubt have already been collected and printed. Nevertheless it may be well to set down very shortly the beliefs which not many years ago caused crowds of the country people to collect on the patron day at the pretty seaside place, and bring their sick people and those who were in trouble to the holy places to be rid of their griefs, whether of mind or body.

St. Declan was the founder of the original ecclesiastical settlement. The Round Tower of Ardmore is unique among all others for being ornamented by a series of three string courses. St. Declan miraculously built the basal portion in one night, in the second night he raised it to the second string course, and on the third he carried it to the third. But an old woman would not give the saint any credit for this "tour de force," and cried out, "Will you never be done?" and St. Declan immediately completed the final portion of the structure and finished the whole with the conical cap, which is still perfect.

The saint on one occasion went on a pilgrimage to Rome, and on his return, when the ship was approaching Ardmore, some gigantic pagans attempted to prevent his landing and ran out into the sea in a threatening manner; whereupon St. Declan turned

them into rocks, and they are there to this day, and form a reef where formerly was a secure landing-place.

Another phenomenon happened on this occasion, evidence of which still remains in the shape of a large glacial boulder resting on an outcrop of the local rocks on the shore. This erratic, evidently foreign to the neighbourhood, had been swimming patiently after the ship all the way from Italy; but "a stern chase" is well known to be a "long chase," and so it never overtook the saint, but followed in his wake to Ardmore and lodged itself safely on a ridge near the ship, crying out "The Clerk forgot the Bell" ("*Dearmhad an chléirigh ar an chlog*"), and sure enough they found upon it his bell and his vestments that had been left behind at Rome! This holy stone, as it is called, works miracles of healing; both to those that rub their backs against it, but more especially to those that creep under it in the hollow between the two supporting ribs of rock. But if anyone attempts this cure wearing a stolen garment or having unabsolved sins on their conscience, the stone presses down and prevents their passage through.

The practice of creeping beneath stones is exemplified in an old churchyard beside L. Gill, near Col. Wood Martin's place. Here is a tombstone under which childless women creep who wish to become mothers.

Colloquial Phrases.

If you enter a dairy or any place where an industry is going on it is not right to praise the results without first saying "God bless the work" or "God bless you." (In the south of Ireland.)

And among the upper classes, I was told in Co. Waterford, it was the habit if you praised anything to touch *wood* of any sort at once, or commence the remark by saying "o' good time be it spoken," etc.

This superstition seems on all fours with the expression of "tempting Providence" in its underlying apprehension of an evil result from a malign power.

Water Horses and other Monsters.

There are two small lakes in the neighbourhood of Mohill, Co. Leitrim, which I have been often assured contain water horses—Drumdart L. and one near Drumard. These are generally seen grazing on the shore in the early morning before people are astir, and when disturbed throw themselves into the lake and disappear.

When I visited Coole Park, Lady Gregory's place near Gort, I was told by a gamekeeper that not long since his father, early one morning coming down to the lake from the high ground, saw on the side of a hedge on the lake shore a short stout animal grazing, just like a thick-set horse of moderate size. He managed to get very near it before it took alarm, and throwing itself into the water disappeared into its depths. My informant, a very intelligent man, asked if I could tell him if there was any such fresh-water animal known, or if what his father had seen was supernatural.

References to the Scottish Gaelic folklore of water horses are given in the note on Tale VIII. of No. III. Argyleshire series of *Waifs and Strays of Celtic Tradition* (David Nutt, London). It is described as similar to a real horse, except its wild staring eyes, slimy skin, and webbed feet. He sometimes grazes on the lake margin and tempts the wayfarer to get on his back, upon which he plunges into the depths, and feasts upon the unhappy rider. Seen in the day-time the water horse is a black ùsp or shapeless mass moving through the water, but at the setting of the sun or before sunrise he ventures out on the land.

Should one be killed, nothing is left but a pool of water; if buried, it gives rise to a spring!

Lake Coomshinaun, Co. Waterford.

Here an extraordinary phenomenon can be witnessed every seven years. A huge mass of some sort rises high above the water, no matter how calm the day, and then after a short time falls back with an enormous splash, making a commotion over the whole surface of the lake.

The Master Eel.

At a lake not very far from Mohill, Co. Leitrim, the following occurrence is said to have taken place.

The son of a farmer living alongside of its margin used to lay night lines for pike. But early one morning he went to examine his lines, and on trying to draw one of them in a monstrous eel with a mane hanging behind his head rose out of the water, and followed him over the land almost to his house, then turning back broke the line and dived to the bottom of the lake.

A story very circumstantially told lately appeared in the papers of a man being chased by a monstrous eel near Wattle Bridge on the Upper L. Erne.

Leprechauns and Loughrey-men.

In Monaghan and Tyrone the little dwarf sprites that frequent ancient woodlands and wild waste lands are called by the latter name.

The little wood of Creaghan, beside Favour Royal, belonging to me, which is a remnant of the old oak forest land of the country, is notoriously the resort of these "gentry." One of my employés, cutting scollops for thatch about the year 1860, stooping down with his knife in hand almost touched one that was sitting in the centre of the tuft of young shoots. Horridly scared at the little wizened face peering up at him crowned with a red pointed cap, he jumped back and cried out to his fellow. The two then returned, but, of course, the loughrey-man had vanished, for if you take your eyes off them they disappear in a moment. But the woodman assured me that they found "his little nest still warm in the heart of the bush." A woodkeeper also told me that he had himself never met with one, but frequently heard them walking alongside him in the evening, but hidden by the foliage.

At Lemaculla, about half-a-mile from Drumreaske, Co. Monaghan, a woman lived, named Mary M'Kenna. One day, returning to her cottage in full daylight (she lived alone), she saw a little loughrey-man sitting at the fire with a small pot in his hand full of gold pieces, which he was counting. He was

very old-looking and had a red cap on his head, and she was scared, and chased him out of the house. Many a time after she regretted the loss of her chances, for she never after met with another.

In the same townland (Lemaculla), James Dudgeon, a sturdy Orangeman, and one on whose word I should have complete reliance (he was in my service from 1863 till his death), told me that about the year 1850 he was returning home early one summer's evening, and coming to the ditch of a plantation he saw one of these little fellows with the red cap sitting beneath him in the "shough." He tried to catch him, but the loughrey-man jumped behind a tree, and peeped round it. Dudgeon chased him about from tree to tree for fully half-an-hour, he said, till tired out; so he wished him good-night, and left him grinning behind a tree.

Robert Loughy, when he was a small boy, lived with his parents on his father's farm, not far from Dungarvan, and remembers that leprechauns had been frequently seen near the cottage. His mother one morning went out of the door and found two beautiful little shirts of very fine and strong material, and admirably made, hanging on the hedge hard by. The family had never seen garments of such good quality, and Robert and his little brother wore them long enough. Wondering at the discovery she showed them to a neighbour woman, who advised her not to tell of her luck to the neighbours, for probably other valuable gifts would be left by the friendly donors. But she was so elated that she could not keep the secret, and every one about heard of her good fortune, and, of course, no more presents were left. He well remembered the beautiful shirts, he said.

The leprechauns appear to be about two feet high.

A Leprechaun in Leitrim.

Not far from Fenagh, whose ancient ecclesiastical and other remains are well known, there is a little hollow among the low hilly eminences, not far from the townland of Longstones, where the Druids were all turned into monoliths, and a small bog fills the bottom. In the middle of this patch of bog is a huge boulder.

Facing the bog stands a small cottage, and the owner was sitting one sunny day in the doorway, when he noticed what he thought was a small child with a red cap coming down the slope on the far side of the little marshy bog. His curiosity was not excited until the little figure advanced across the heather, and reaching the big stone was seen no more. He then crossed the hundred yards that intervened, and went round the stone, but could not find anyone, and there was no place of hiding.

Days passed away, and he had almost forgotten the occurrence when once more from his doorway he perceived the little figure dressed as before coming down the opposite slope. Throwing down his pipe, he ran to meet it, but when the leprechaun (for so it was) saw his object, he skipped across the grass and heather so rapidly that he reached the stone almost simultaneously with the man who told me the story, and in a moment got on the other side of it and disappeared! "Well," said my friend, "it was unlucky I could not catch him, or I might have got the crock of gold. But the little chap wasn't undacent, for when I got my spade and dug down close to the stone I found not far from the surface them quare stones and bits of things which I brought to your uncle, Mr. Beresford; and he, God bless him, got a nice little sum for them from the Royal Irish Academy for me." At this lapse of time, I cannot remember what the finds were, but there were some stone celts, and, I think, one or two bronze articles. This happened about the year 1860, and I have forgotten the man's name.

A Magic Cave.

There is a feeder to the River Aille which runs into L. Mask, Co. Mayo, which gathers on the foothills of the Partry Mountains, and as it reaches the lower slopes is blocked by a transverse outcrop of limestone cliff, beneath which it burrows, and after about half a mile or more of subterranean course rises from the ground in a large pool, and then joins the main stream. In heavy rains the entrance to the caves in the cliff becomes a raging whirlpool, which rises 15 or 20 feet up the face of the cliff, the subterranean passage being unable to give vent to the flood. But in ordinary weather one can penetrate some distance into the caverns which

receive the stream. The place in question is about 12 miles east of Westport on the way to L. Carra. I visited it, desiring to explore the cavern as far as it seemed safe, and took a guide from the nearest part of the main road. When we approached the hollow my guide refused to come further, and tried to dissuade me. He sat down on a height afar off, and would not even go near the entrance. I had to go alone to the foot of the low cliff, but found two of the side entrances choked with débris, and did not venture into the main opening, which did not offer a secure foothold, especially to anyone unaccompanied by a guide. I offered him half a crown, then five shillings, but he said that not for a pound note would he go near the foot of the cliff, and showed such terror that I induced him to give me his reason. He then explained that though persons had penetrated more than once by one of the side openings, he knew a man who having got in suddenly saw the vault lit up by the lights of some large building illuminated with numerous windows, and what he saw and heard was too dreadful to be described, and then he crossed himself and made for his home, leaving me alone on the slope of the hill.

The Phantom Coach

In Leitrim I have often heard of this visitation, and on one occasion was present when the apparition was believed to have occurred. At Mohill Castle, the residence of an uncle of mine, one calm winter's night the family, eight in number, were all sitting in the drawing-room which faced the carriage drive. Suddenly we all heard the wheels of a carriage and the beat of horses' hoofs approaching, and then stopping opposite the hall door. My uncle, wondering who could be arriving at so late an hour, stepped into the hall accompanied by myself, then a lad of about eighteen years of age. As we were unbolting the door the butler also appeared, and said no bell had rung, but that the servants and he had heard a carriage drive up to the door. When it was opened there was nothing to be seen. There was no wind, and we heard only the drip of a drizzling rain from a tree hard by. The drive ended in the sweep opposite the hall door, so it could

not have been a passing carriage. Next day a woman living opposite the entrance gate told the usual story of the black coach with horses having been seen driving over the bridge and up the approach.

Usually a headless coachman is on the box.

W. F. de Vismes Kane.

Some Nature Myths from Samoa.

(Continued from Vol. XXVI. p. 172.)

The Voyage of Kae.

Leau, a chief living in Haamea, built a boat to sail in his pond, the same pond that is still to be seen near Fatai. Great was the complaining of the people, for why was the boat not launched in the sea? What purpose in sailing in a pond?

And Leau, knowing that thus his people spake, bade them prepare to sail and see the talking buko tree and the other marvels of Bulotu. And so they set forth, but when Haapai appeared, and then Vavau, the sailors urged their chief to turn to land, saying that the boat was not fit for distant travel. But Leau refused, and on they sailed to the edge of the heavens.

At last they came to the shallow sea, and after that the sea that is covered with floating pumice fragments, and then they reached the place where the ancients say the sea is viscous. There they struck the sail, and leaping into the water dragged the boat till they came to the pandanus tree that stands on the edge of the world, and the mast becoming entangled in its branches, two of the crew, Kae and Longoboa, clambered into the tree and clung to a bough.

Now in this place the sky is open, and when Kae and Longoboa pushed the boat off strongly it darted through the heavens and disappeared, and therewith disappeared Leau and his companions. But Kae and Longoboa, left clinging in the branches of the pandanus tree, straightway determined that when the tide rose they would swim off, and each seek for himself a land.

So thus they did, and after some days Kae found himself ashore upon the island inhabited by Kanivatu, the great bird of wondrous size. Faint was his heart as he saw the nature of the isle, for stranded there were eight great whales and sword-fish (?) innumerable. And not at the sight of these alone did Kae's spirits droop, but he thought too of the bird Kanivatu, devourer of men. Yet that night he slept between two whales, and when Kanivatu came he crouched down and hid, and even whilst he marvelled at the monstrous size of the great bird he smiled as well, for here was a means whereby to return to the world of men.

And so on a day when Kanivatu was fluttering his wings in preparation for flight, he clung to its breast, as unknown to the mighty bird as if he had been but a flea. Then was Kae borne aloft and hither and thither, clinging fast, for they were yet over the open sea, but when he saw that they were close to a shore he let go at once, and came to land in Samoa, at a place that is called Akana. The chief of the land, Jinilau, received him kindly, and had Kae been content to remain with him all had been well, but he was filled with longing to return to Tongatabu and tell the wonders he had seen.

Now Jinilau had two twin whales, Tonga and Tununga, who, fish as they were, were yet the offspring of a kinswoman of Jinilau. So Jinilau, learning of Kae's desire, ordered the two whales to come and take him to Tongatabu, and forthwith return themselves. Not only so, but he bade the Samoa people bring gifts, and let not one who had dwelt his guest return empty-handed.

Then Kae boarded the whales and they sailed for Tongatabu; but he harboured in his heart thoughts ill-requiting the kindness of Jinilau, and determined to kill the whales. Accordingly he told them to approach the shore at a shallow place, that they might be stranded whilst he called together the people. And the people came down and smote the whales, slaying Tununga, but Tonga, thanks to his own skill and prudence, escaped. At Kae's bidding Tununga was at once cut up and distributed to the chiefs of the various places, and cooked and eaten.

As for Tonga, he at last arrived back in Samoa, and when the waiting Jinilau, surprised that he should be alone, questioned him, he told the treacherous fate that had overtaken his dear

companion, and how that he himself had been almost taken, and he showed his back scarred with many a wound. Then Jinilau, angered, gathered together the gods of Samoa, bidding them make a basket and go and collect the excrement of the districts that had eaten Tununga, and above all let them not omit to bring back Kae. And so was it done, for seizing the man asleep they brought and left him in Jinilau's canoe-house.

And when the cock crew Kae awaked, saying at once that voice is just like the voice of Jinilau's cock in Samoa that he had erst been wont to hear. Then arose within him the longing to go again and see Samoa—but all unknowingly he was already there, and not as he thought still in Tongatabu. But as the day broke Kae started in surprise, for there was Jinilau sitting at the door of the canoe-house.

Then Jinilau, filled with anger and grief, upbraided Kae for his unkind behaviour, and told him that his grave was dug, for he must die. Forthwith they took him to the burial ground, the people vying with each other in their execration of him. Then they slew and buried him. So ended the graceless Kae. But not so ended the poor whale whom he had deceived, for the people brought a great bowl, and when they had placed therein the portions they had obtained, straightway Tununga uprose alive. His only loss was a tusk left behind in Mua, which Kae had given to the Tui Tonga, but Jinilau said it made no difference, for if he did not open his mouth wide no one would be the wiser.

Longoboa and the Talking Buko Tree.

We have already followed the adventures and fate of Kae. His companion, Longoboa, when he swam off from the edge of the world came ashore at the island of the Talking Buko Tree. The whereabouts of this island no mortal knows, but that after all is immaterial. As Longoboa standing upon the beach looked around to discover the nature of the place, he saw that it was almost treeless, there being but one buko tree with some small fan-palms clustered about its feet—the remainder of the island a waste of sand and gravel.

In spite of Longoboa's joy that he had reached dry land, yet

the barrenness of the place filled him with despair. We all know the weakness of the human heart when involved in such hopeless circumstances, and we cannot be surprised that Longoboa, enfeebled by long fasting, broke down and wept bitterly, just like a child who saw not whither to turn for help. Suddenly he heard a voice addressing him. At once his sobs were hushed, and he listened to discover whence came the sound. Again he was addressed, "Why do you weep?" "I weep because I am hungry," he replied, although he knew not who spoke. "All right, go and heat your oven," and he obeyed the mysterious bidding.

When the earth oven was prepared and heated, the buko tree bade him come and break off a branch and bake it. Longoboa climbed up and broke off a great branch, which he put in the oven. After a short wait the oven was opened, and, to his astonishment, proved to be full of yam, pork, plantain, and other foods in abundance. In his ravenous hunger he did not wait till all was removed from the oven, breaking off and eating a piece here and there, picking up fragments that dropped, so that before the oven was emptied he had already lost the first keen edge of appetite. Nevertheless, he sat down to eat to satisfy; but finding himself unable to finish the food he wept again. "Why do you weep?" inquired the buko. "Because the food is not finished." he replied. "All right," said the tree, "eat it all," and instantly all was eaten.

Then feeling the pangs of thirst he resorted as ever to tears. "Friend, why do you weep?" asked the buko. "I am thirsty," answered Longoboa. "Come and pluck a coconut from the palms down below here," was the response. Longoboa climbed up, and not content with one nut, plucked a great bunch, and descending opened one to drink. He drank full and deep, but the nut proved a perennial fountain, and unable to drain it he wept again. "What is it now?" "Because I cannot finish the nut." "Drink it all," was the bidding, no sooner uttered than accomplished.

Yet again the man began to weep. "What is it now?" "I weep because I am cold." Thereupon the tree bade him approach and pluck two leaves, one to lie on, and one to put on him: but

the graceless wretch plucked a great armful, making a big pile on the ground. Then lying down on the heap he scooped the leaves about him. Most wonderful the event. The leaves beneath him became mats, and those above changed to tappa, and that in such quantity that the poor fool beneath was oppressed by the excessive warmth, and again burst into tears. "What's the matter, friend?" commiseratingly inquired the tree. "I'm too hot." "Well, get up and take the tappa off."

Shortly afterwards Longoboa began to feel home-sick, and of course began to weep again. On the buko's asking the reason of this fresh outbreak, he replied that he wanted to go home to Tonga. The tree told him that the gods intended going shortly on a fishing excursion, and that he should go with them to bear the basket, and that thus should he find a way back to Tonga. The buko bade him not to go empty-handed, but to break off a branch to take with him. On arrival at Tonga he was immediately to plant this branch. If he so planted it, before even going to see his friends, a tree would grow like the wonderful buko who had succoured him, with the gift of speech and able to supply all the needs of life. But if when he came to Tonga the planting of the slip did not take precedence of every other claim a tree would grow not endowed with any of these marvellous qualities.

The tree, moreover, bade him prepare for the fishing expedition a basket with a hole in one end, so that it should not be quickly filled, and the search for fish might be prolonged till Tonga was reached and day had dawned.

When in course of time the gods arrived to set out on their trip they acceded to Longoboa's request that he accompany them and carry the basket. Accordingly they all went off together, and out to the open sea. The fates were propitious for the celestial fishers and they made an extraordinary haul, most of which, however, dropped back into the sea through the hole in the basket. After a while the gods inquired, "How is our basket?" "Not full yet," replied Longoboa. "H'm, that's strange. This is fishing into a broken basket," and that is the origin of the Tongan expression "Fishing into a broken basket." Suddenly the day dawned, and the gods fled; but Longoboa stayed, for he had arrived in Tonga.

At once he went ashore at Haamea and rushed to see his family, leaving the buko branch outside the house. Afterwards he planted it, but because of his folly in not doing so immediately he landed the buko tree in Tonga neither speaks nor bears fruit.

G. Brown.

The Belief in Charms.

An Exhibition in London.

Superstitions die hard, but the German submarine campaign is prolonging the life of at least one of them. In Nelson's time there was a limited trade in cauls, then popularly believed to be sure charm against death at sea by drowning, and in those days a single specimen would fetch as much as £20. Since Nelson's time there has been less demand for these objects, and five years ago they sold at 2s. apiece. Now, thanks to the activities of the German under-water craft, they are being sold at the London Docks for £2 10s.

This is one of many interesting facts brought out by an exhibition of charms illustrating a faith in the supernatural that apparently still obtains in London. The collection, which has been got together by Mr. Edward Lovett, a member of the council of the Folk-Lore Society, is to be seen at the Southwark Central Library, Walworth Road. It has no relation to what may be called religious superstitions, but it shows how widespread is the belief, especially in East and South London, that the fortunes of individuals can be affected by some inanimate object deemed to be lucky or potent against disease.

Love charms, of course, are prominent. One that is shown is "dragon's blood" gum, red in colour, and it is claimed that if this is burnt at midnight, preferably on a Friday, it will not fail to win a lover. Mr. Lovett states that this practice still survives, and many young girls in London carry out these mystic rites religiously. Another charm of the same sort is the root of a little yellow wild flower (*potentilla tormentilla*). It also has to be

burnt, but its efficacy lies in the fact that it renews a dead or waning affection rather than influences an existing one.

Medicinal charms form a large part of the collection. There are necklaces made of the stems of the night-shade which, if put around the neck of an infant, will help it to cut its teeth. A necklace of acorns is a specific against other infant ills. A knuckle-bone, carried in the pocket, will ward off rheumatism, the theory being that as the dead bone does not suffer from the complaint the disease will go into it. Another cure for rheumatism is a potato. A specimen shown was carried by a rheumatic subject for many years. A third charm against the same complaint is a small bottle containing mercury, hermetically sealed and covered with leather. Mr. Lovett states that it is sold in London by one of the largest chemists in the world.

Those who suffer from nightmare may welcome this prescription. A pair of horseshoes covered in blue and red cloth, or a string of stones, naturally perforated, should be hung up at the head of the bed. A necklet of blue beads will protect a child against bronchitis, while red beads or coral will avert sore throats. A small bag containing a tooth should be placed round the neck of an infant as an antidote against teething convulsions. Since the beginning of the war another charm against disease has been introduced by Belgian refugees—the wearing of cat's skin for rheumatism and chest troubles.

One of the most curious of the exhibits is a sheep's heart, pierced with pins and nails to break the spell of a black witch. It was prepared by an old woman who practised witchcraft in London as late as 1908. She learned the secret of the charm from her grandmother in South Devon, where it was popular with farmers. The black witches were supposed to bring about the death of sheep and cows by casting a spell over them, or by surreptitiously introducing the poisonous leaves of the yew tree into their food. By taking the heart of a sheep which had fallen victim to these machinations, piercing it with pins and nails, and hanging it up in the chimney, the spell was supposed to be broken. —*The Times*, 5th March, 1917.

Folklore from Ireland.

The Each Ceannan Dubh.

The *Each Ceannan Dubh* was said to be an enchanted horse. It was a large jet-black animal with fiery eyeballs, and it was said to have a spear protruding from its breast. This horse had its haunts close to a little lake known to-day in Rathlin as *Loch an Eich*, in the townland of Shandra. As this horse was always dreaded by the inhabitants of the island they made it a rule never to stay out after dark, but on a certain night it happened that a woman belonging to this locality was out late, and as she was halfway across the mountain of Cille Phadraig she heard the sound of the dreaded horse. Seized with terror, she yet collected her senses sufficiently to make off across the mountain towards a high wall which stood close to her dwelling-place. She succeeded in getting over the wall before the horse could come up, but no sooner was she over the wall than she fell in a faint on the other side. The horse came up after her with such force that it sent the spear which was in its breast back through its heart as it struck the wall, and it fell dead.

On the following day the natives all gathered and dragged the dead horse to the place now known as Lag an Eich or "The Steed's Hollow," in the neighbourhood of Dun Eoghan Ruaidh or "Owen Roe's Fort." Here they buried it, and piled a cairn of stones over its grave.

On that night there was heard a sweet, sad lament in the air coming from the direction of the grave. The words of the keen ran as follows:

Leag's cha do thóg iad é
Leag's cha do thóg iad é
Leag's cha do thóg iad é
Bealach an gharraidhe

O mo each ceannan dubh
O mo each ceannan dubh
O mo each ceannan dubh
Bealach an gharraidhe

Translation—

Thrown down and they did not raise him
Thrown down and they did not raise him
Thrown down and they did not raise him
The Garden Road.

O my enchanted black horse
O my enchanted black horse
O my enchanted black horse
The Garden Road.

[*Note.*—The air to which these verses are sung is singularly elusive and beautiful, and most plaintive. I took down the last line as *i m. bealach an gharraidhe*, "In the garden road." Afterwards I read in O'Laverty's *History of the Diocese of Down and Connor* that there is a tradition in Rathlin that a great lady once lived there and had a beautiful garden on the island. While I was writing out the story the parish priest of Rathlin came in. He says that all these names are in use in Rathlin to-day—Loughaneis, Laganeis, Shandra, Ballynagarry. *Ceannan* was translated to me as "enchanted," but might it not be *ceann-fhionn*, "white-faced" or "white-headed?"]

Emily G. Gough.

Hampshire Folklore.

Hedgehogs.

A few weeks ago at Cove—which might almost be described nowadays as one of Aldershot's suburbs, as the village lies just to the north of the Royal Flying Corps Airship Sheds, and is mainly occupied by the mechanics and artisans employed at the Royal Aircraft Factory—a lady found a hedgehog in an empty house she had just taken. The owner of the house, a local man, wished to destroy it immediately, but she begged it might be kept and put in the garden. The man demurred, she could not do that, the people in the farm at the back of the house would object,

because everyone knew that hedgehogs were dangerous to cows. When asked why, he said because they sucked their milk.

I told this to Col. ——, who remarked, directly I mentioned the hedgehog, "A hedgehog has no friends," and said when I concluded, "Oh, yes, of course, I know that." His home was in Hertfordshire, and he said all the country folks there say the same about hedgehogs and cows.

D. H. Moutray Read.

Apparitions in Lincolnshire.

A woman of twenty-seven or twenty-eight said to me at Kirton-in-Lindsey in August, 1910, "O, Miss, me and my sister F. did see something queer to-night! You know that door going into the garden of the house that used to be the prison. There seemed to be a man standing at it. F. saw him as well before I spoke, and she got fast hold of my arm. It was as plain as anything, and then he seemed to go right through the door, because he wasn't there! He could not have gone down the road without us seeing him, and he could not have come past us. It was the strangest thing! Well, perhaps it was a shadow we just caught sight of, but then if that was it, why did we both of us think the same? He had a blue jacket and grey trousers, but one of us noticed he had a hat on, and the other remembered him bald.

"My mother once saw one of my uncles when he was dead. It was at Bawtry [Yorkshire] she was living then. She looked out of the window and he was outside, she called her brother . . . and he saw him as well. When uncle's wife [*i.e.* widow] came she could see nothing. He had gone. But she died very soon after."

M. Peacock.

An Ancient Rent Service.

In accordance with custom, the City Solicitor (Sir Homewood Crawford) and the Secondary (Mr. William Hayes) attended before Sir John Macdonell, the King's Remembrancer, at the

Royal Courts of Justice yesterday to render rent service on the part of the Corporation for certain property held from the Crown.

Proclamation was made in these terms: "Tenants and occupiers of a piece of waste ground called 'The Moors' in the county of Salop come forth and do your service." The City Solicitor then cut one faggot with a hatchet and another with a billhook. The next proclamation was: "Tenants and occupiers of a certain tenement called 'The Forge' in the parish of St. Clements Danes, in the county of Middlesex, come forth and do your service." Upon this the City Solicitor counted six horse-shoes and 61 nails, the King's Remembrancer saying "Good number."

"The Forge," it is said, was pulled down by a mob during a riot in the reign of Richard II., and never restored. During the proceedings Sir John Macdonell said that the circumstances in which the ceremony originated were unknown. The only information which could be obtained arose from entries in the Rolls of the Exchequer. The ceremony had been observed for the last 700 years, and probably for a longer period. Some such ceremony had been performed annually before the Barons of the Exchequer and his predecessors as King's Remembrancer. How it came about that the Corporation became seised of certain parcels of land in the county of Salop and how they passed out of their possession was not to be explained. The earliest entry on the subject was dated 1211.—*The Times*, 7th November, 1913.

Burning Camphor: A Strange Tamil Oath.

There was an interesting interlude in the Kuala Lumpur Police Court on Saturday during a case in which a Tamil was charged with attempting to crimp two coolies from Waddieburn Estate. One of the Tamil witnesses, a coolie on Waddieburn, said that the accused had asked him on the previous Thursday to go with him to Kuala Kubu on receiving his month's wages.

The accused denied this, and witness said that he was willing to swear a solemn oath that what he had said was true. On being asked what form the oath would take, he said that he

would take the burning camphor oath. The Court being agreeable, witness was sent out to buy some camphor, while the case stood down.

On the proceedings being renewed, witness placed the camphor on the witness box and lit it. He then repeated his statement and slapped the flaming camphor out. Accused objected, saying that the witness had not reported his statement correctly, whereupon the witness took the oath once more. Accused, who put up a weak defence, was fined $75 or two months' rigorous imprisonment.

The burning camphor oath mentioned above is a favourite one with the Tamils, and is said to be very binding. The person taking the oath is supposed to flutter out of life like the camphor flame he extinguishes if he attempts to swear a false statement. (M. M.)—*Singapore Free Press*, 18th October, 1916.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Bibliography of the Writings of the Late Sir Laurence Gomme on Anthropology and Folklore.

Lady Gomme's Bibliography of Sir Laurence's splendid life-work omits one item: "On the Method of Determining the Value of Folklore as Ethnological Data," *Report of British Association*, Liverpool, 1896, pp. 626-656.

Edward Brabrook.

Christmas Candles.

I should be much obliged if you could inform me where I could obtain information regarding the custom of burning two candles on Christmas Eve. As far back as I can remember this was done in our family, and has been continued regularly until now.

E. C. Blanchard.

10 Great College Street, Westminster, S.W.

[Burning the Christmas Candle—there is generally only one—is a common custom in Cumberland, Yorkshire, and Lincolnshire, and is probably still practised in Northumberland, where in 1725 the Rev. Henry Bourne gave the following account of it: "Our Forefathers, when the common Devotions of the *Eve* were over, and Night was come on, were wont to light up *Candles* of an uncommon Size, which were called *Christmas-Candles*, and to lay a *Log* of Wood upon the Fire, which they termed a *Yule-Clog*, or

Christmas-Block. These were to illuminate the House and turn the Night, which Custom, in some Measure, is still kept up in the Northern Parts."

The candle, a tall wax candle, half a yard in length, is usually a gift from the grocer to his customers. It is placed on the table at supper-time on Christmas Eve, and lighted when the whole family have assembled. It would be very unlucky to light it sooner, or to snuff it or move it till supper is ended, and a piece of it must be kept till next year for luck. See Young's *History of Whitby*, 1817, ii. 879; *History of Richmond*, 1814, p. 294; Shaw, *Our Filey Fishermen*, p. 9; Wilson (John), *Verses and Notes*, 1887, p. 181; Dickenson's *Cumberland Glossary*, p. 17; and *Gent. Mag.* 1832, vol. ii. p. 191.

In Cornwall "candles painted by some member of the family were often lighted at the same time" as the Christmas block; and Miss Courtney tells us that "in a few remote districts of the coast children may be, after nightfall, occasionally (but rarely) found dancing round painted lighted candles placed in a box of sand. This custom was very general fifty years ago. The church towers, too, are sometimes illuminated" (*Cornish Feasts and Feasten Customs*, p. 7). Near Oswestry, in Shropshire, on the borders of Wales, the colliers carry round a cake of clay stuck with lighted candles, on a board, and show it, expecting money.

Irish observances are noted in *Folk-Lore*, vol. xxvii. pp. 265, 276. The last-mentioned, a contemporary case, in which the master of the household himself lit *two* candles—one in the dining-room, the other in the kitchen for the servants—comes very near to Mr. Blanchard's experience, about which we should like to hear more details. How far back can he trace the family custom, and in what part of the country?

As to the significance of the custom, it is difficult to go beyond the observation of Brand (ed. 1777) that "*Lights* indeed seem to have been used on all festive Occasions:—Thus our own *Illuminations*, *Fireworks*, &c., on the News of Victories." They would be especially appropriate at a festival held in the darkest season of the year, and (in Christian times) in honour of the advent of Christ, the Light of the World.—Ed.]

REVIEWS.

Folklore from West Africa.

Ashanti Proverbs. Translated from the original, with Grammatical and Anthropological Notes, by A. Sutherland Rattray, with a Preface by Sir Hugh Clifford. Oxford: The Clarendon Press. 1916.

A Hausa Botanical Glossary. By J. M. Dalziel, M.D. London: Fisher Unwin, Limited. 1916.

In 1879 the Basel Evangelical Missionary Society published a collection, in the vernacular, of some 3,600 proverbs in use among the negroes of the Gold Coast, collected by the late Rev. S. G. Christaller. This great collection was inaccessible to European students until, with the permission of the Society, Mr. Rattray translated in the present volume some 500 proverbs, selected chiefly with the view of "illustrating some custom, belief, or ethical determinant pure and simple, which may be of interest to the anthropologist; or some grammatical or syntactical construction of importance to the student of the language." It is important to remember that Mr. Christaller's collection was made more than thirty years ago, at a time when education and European influence were not so widely felt as is the case at present. Many of the proverbs have now fallen out of recollection, and the rites and practices on which they are based are rapidly disappearing. Besides the interest of the book as a collection of proverbs, Mr. Rattray's voluminous notes are a storehouse of interesting belief and custom.

In these popular sayings the High Gods, known as Onyàmé, or Nyankopon, figure largely. Colonel Ellis, who, with all due

acknowledgment to his great ability in this field of research, was not an accomplished linguist in the Twi or Ashanti language, and must have relied for much of his information on his interpreters, supposed that this conception was due to missionary influence. This theory is rejected on apparently good grounds by Mr. Rattray, and his well-considered argument will be of interest to some who may remember an active controversy carried on in *Folk-Lore* some years ago regarding this subject. Among the many interesting facts recorded by Mr. Rattray, the following deserve special notice. When a man dies his spirit is believed not to go direct to the world below, but it has first, as it were, to report itself, some say to Onyankopon, others to a famous "fetish" Brukum, which has its earthly abode in Togoland. Such ghosts have little power for harm, are shy, and confine themselves to frightening people. Even when a spirit has gone to the lower world, it does not necessarily sever connexion with the land of the living; hence manes-worship is a distinct branch of religion. An Ashanti never drinks without pouring a few drops of wine on the ground for the spirits which may happen to be about, and food is constantly placed aside for them. "There is absolutely no trace of a belief that spirits ever go to live in the sky with Onyankopon, but, as already noted, there is an almost universal idea that he in some way has power over them to interdict or permit them to enter the spirit world, and also to launch a soul again into the world of men, re-incarnation in fact." Ghosts, when visible to the human eye, are said to be white, or dressed in white, and the near presence of a spirit or ghost is supposed to be felt by its peculiar smell. The use of stools as a mark of dignity is common. An Ashanti, when rising from his stool, will generally tilt it against a wall or lay it on its side, lest a departed spirit should sit on it, when the next person to sit down "would contract pains in the waist."

Men and women possessed of the powers of black magic can quit their bodies and travel great distances in the night; they can suck out the blood of victims and the sap and juices of crops; they emit a phosphorescent light from parts of their bodies. In everyday life they are known by their sharp, shifty eyes, restlessness, and they are always talking about food. Hence no one will

deny food even to a stranger, lest he may be a witch or a wizard. In the case of a death the corpse is carried round the village on a stretcher, and the chief, cutlass in hand, advances and addresses the deceased, "If I am the one who killed you by magic, advance on me and knock me." So the enquiry goes on until the corpse urges the carriers to butt against the guilty person. A person so accused can appeal for a change of carriers.

The spider in Ashanti folklore comes easily first as a hero in most of their animal tales. Mr. Rattray thinks that these stories probably had a religious or totemic origin, for to-day a sobriquet for the Supreme Being is Ananec-Kokroko, "the Great Spider."

The spider is credited with being very wise, but in Hausa folklore he is rather of the lovable rogue order. One day he collected all the wisdom of the world in a gourd, and was climbing up a tree to deposit it on the top. As he had tied the gourd to his belly, he got into difficulties, and his son, who was watching him, said, "Father, if you had really all the wisdom of the world with you, you would have sense enough to tie the gourd on your back." So in a temper he threw down the gourd, the wisdom got scattered, and men came and picked up what they could carry away.

The account of oaths, which are numerous, one being in the nature of a curse, is very interesting. A man who was about to be executed was usually pierced through both cheeks with a skewer-like knife which prevented him from "Swearing the King's oath," as this would have necessitated a trial before he could be executed. The description of the curious rapidity with which news is signalled by beat of drum is also valuable. In Ashanti when a subject sorcerer appears before his chief his nose is immediately rubbed with white clay, and during that day he is held responsible for any bad or *good* luck the chief may have, and is punished or rewarded accordingly. White clay is used in various rites, and is smeared on an accused person who has been acquitted of a crime; the Milky Way is white with the myriads of clay-decked bodies of the dead.

The value of this useful book would have been increased by an index of subjects.

Dr. Dalziel's book provides a useful glossary of plants in Hausaland. It contains little in the way of folklore, except the folk names of many plants which may be useful for comparison with those of other countries.

W. Crooke.

Earliest Man. By F. W. H. Migeod. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Limited. 1916.

This book, intended to suggest a scheme of the evolution of humanity, has been written mostly in the Bush of the Cape Colony, where the author's knowledge of animal life has been used to assist the enquiry. The writer admits "that in dealing with such a subject as this it must be remembered that nearly all is conjecture. The actual facts with which to pin down one's line of argument as it is pursued, are few and far between." This being freely admitted, some of his suggestions are interesting. The impulse for man's ascent in culture is ascribed principally to geological changes which enforced movement. Man first used implements in connexion with food, as, for instance, to break a nut; or he saw the value of a stone when he struck against one with his bare hands in digging roots. Cutting implements were suggested by the difficulty of eating the skin of an animal, in order to make the first incision to enable it to be torn off. Cooking came when he found a half burnt animal after a forest fire. Religion was primarily based on fear, and the multitude of deities was the result of variety of environment. The book would have been of greater value if it had been provided with references.

Hawaiian Legends of Volcanoes (Mythology). Collected and translated from the Hawaiian by W. D. Westervelt. Boston, Mass., U.S.A.: Ellis Press; London: Constable & Co. 1916.

The Hawaiian islands form one of the most important regions of volcanic action in the world. In part, the islands are moun-

tainous, but, as the chain ends, they become mere bluffs rising out of the sea, or low coral islands built up on the ruins of submerged volcanoes. The early Hawaiians incorporated in their legends many theories to explain these stupendous phenomena of nature. Their mythology thus acquires a luxuriance and intensity arising from its environment. In contrast to this is the placidity and beauty which surrounds the figure of Pele, the fire-goddess, and her little sister Hiiaka, born from an egg which Pele carried in her bosom. The tale recalls the myth of Demeter and Persephone, and it may be noted that pigs are thrown into the chasm of the crater at Kilauea, as, at the festival of the Thesmophoria, pigs were thrown into the sacred caverns or vaults of the goddesses. The collection ends with the tale of Kapiolani, which forms the subject of Tennyson's poem, "Kapiolani." The book is attractively produced, and the numerous photographs of volcanoes are useful as illustrations.

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THE EDITOR OF *Folk-Lore*,
c/o MESSRS. SIDGWICK & JACKSON, LTD.
ADAM ST., ADELPHI, LONDON, W.C.

Folk-Lore.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE FOLK-LORE SOCIETY.

VOL. XXVIII.] JUNE, 1917. [No. II.

EVENING MEETINGS.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 21st, 1917.

DR. M. GASTER (VICE-PRESIDENT) IN THE CHAIR.

THE minutes of the January Meeting were read and confirmed.

The election of Miss Moutray Read, Mr. Dwight Marvin, Col. Bevington, Mrs. Coote Lake, the Countess of Ravensworth, Miss Joan Evans, and Dr. Baudis as members of the Society and the enrolment of the M'Gill University Library as a subscriber were announced. The deaths of the Rev. Canon Grant and Mr. Percy Manning and the resignation of Miss M. V. A. Thorpe were also announced.

Miss B. Freire Marreco read a paper entitled "The Dream Element in American Indian Folk Tales," and a discussion followed, in which Miss Burne, Miss Hayes, Mrs. Coote Lake, Miss Coote Lake, and the Chairman took part.

The meeting terminated with a hearty vote of thanks to Miss Freire Marreco for her paper.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 18th, 1917.

DR. M. GASTER (VICE-PRESIDENT) IN THE CHAIR.

THE minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

Miss M. Murray read a paper entitled "Organizations of Witches in Great Britain," and in the discussion which followed Dr. Baudis, Dr. Seligman, Dr. Read, Miss Pollard, Miss Hull, Mrs. Coote Lake, and the Chairman took part.

The meeting terminated with a hearty vote of thanks to Miss Murray for her paper.

THE LIFE OF THE MOUNTAIN PEOPLE IN FORMOSA.

BY SHINJI ISHII, F.R.A.I.

(*Read before the Society on 17th January*, 1917.)

THE subject of this paper is the life of the mountain people in Formosa or Taiwan[1] as we call it. There are seven tribes—Taiyal, Bunun, Tsuwō, Paiwan, Ami, Saisett and Yami—in Formosa, the last occupying the small island of Botel Tobago, off the east coast. These people number roughly 130,000, the Paiwan being the most numerous. The tribes are distinguished one from the other by differences of language and custom. The Taiyal, Bunun, Tsuwō, a portion of the Paiwan, and the small Saisett tribe live in the mountain districts, while the remainder of the Paiwan and the Ami are in the plains, the latter occupying a belt on the east coast. These two tribes have attained to a considerable degree of culture under Japanese and Chinese influence, and it seems likely that before long their peculiar customs will disappear. Two tribes of the Piyuma[2] and the Ami on the east coast possess a peculiar social organization involving the age-grade system and the matri-local family. These I propose to discuss in a separate paper.

[1] For a brief historical and topographical sketch of this island, see my paper "The Island of Formosa and its Primitive Inhabitants" (*Trans. Japan Society, London*, vol. xiv. 1916).

[2] The Piyuma, on account of their linguistic affinity, are included under the Paiwan in the Government statistics, but ethnologically they are distinct.

A party of the Paiwan tribe visited London in 1910, on the occasion of the Anglo-Japanese Exhibition.

The present paper is confined to the most primitive and interesting tribe in the island, the Taiyal, numbering some 32,000. Three mountain tribes—the Taiyal, the Bunun and the Tsuwō—practise the custom of knocking out their teeth; while the plain tribes—the Paiwan and the Ami, as well as the Yami of Botel Tobago—chew betel nut. The country of the Taiyal extends on both sides at the foot of the central mountain range. The people living to the east have a different dialect, calling themselves Seidekka or Saddekka, and their physique is better than that of the Taiyal on the west. The Taiyal occupy lands between 1000 and 5000 feet above sea-level. Beyond 6000 feet the vegetation is poor and the crops unproductive. As a rule this district, especially in the north, is healthy, and epidemics are almost unknown. Malarial fever has certainly increased since the Japanese occupation, owing to more free communication with the lowlands. The mountain districts have an important camphor industry, and produce the fragrant oolong tea.

The Taiyal have the reputation of being head-hunters and cannibals, but the latter charge is untrue. They are a well-behaved race, who believe themselves to be the only perfect people in the world, and call foreigners Yugai or monkeys. But the Hakka or Chinese immigrants, who live on their frontier, do eat human flesh occasionally. Some years ago a Taiyal man was killed in a raid and his body was cut up into small pieces, which were introduced into soup and other dishes. When charged with the offence by the police, the Chinese pleaded—unavailingly, as it turned out—that the practice acted as a charm to preclude the attacks of their deadly enemies, and likewise that eating human flesh wards off epidemic disease.

The morality of the Taiyal is of a high type. They never steal, always keep their promises, honour their elders,

treat their wives and other women with respect, and are affectionate to their children; among them adultery is regarded as a grave offence; and immorality between the unmarried is visited with severe punishment. If both offenders are not put to death, they are banished from their village. Among neighbouring tribes, whereas the culture is otherwise superior, the standard of sexual morality declines. They have a strong sense of shame, and often commit suicide, when, as the Chinese say, a man "loses his face." Their curved knife is not suitable for committing *Harakiri*, and the usual method is either by hanging or by poisoning themselves with the juice of a plant.[3] A woman also commits suicide when her husband is killed in war. Their worst crime is head-hunting, which is based on religion and custom. They are also apt to lose control, under the influence of liquor, at their feasts, and a stranger visiting them at such times runs serious risk of losing his life. They used in former days to drink an intoxicant prepared by women, who chewed rice or millet. Now yeast is obtained from the Chinese by means of which a sort of beer is prepared in the following way. When the rice or millet has been cooked by steaming, and allowed to cool, it is mixed with yeast and placed in a jar on a shelf just above the fire-place. Fermentation occurs after three or four days, and, when water has been added, the beverage is ready, about a day later. Or, if yeast be not procurable, the steamed grain is wrapped in a banana leaf, which again is wrapped in a cloth, and, when mildew appears in about a week's time, the preparation is complete. The head of the family sips the first sample of the brew from a bamboo cup (*Keiji*), the rest of the family following him. The lees are filtered through a bamboo sieve (*Bushii*), and used to feed pigs or dogs.

Among the Taiyal the following folk-tale is current to

[3] This is mostly used for fishing in the stream, and is called Toba (*Derris chinensis*, Benth).

explain the origin of head-hunting: "In ancient times, as the population increased, it was found that the mountain land was insufficient; so it was decided to divide the people into two groups, one to occupy the plains and the other to remain in the mountains. As it was difficult to count them, it was decided that each group should raise a shout to decide which was the greater. The leader of the party of the plains was a crafty man, and when the first cry was raised he hid half his party behind the mountains, so that the shout of his side was smaller. Then another lot of men was added to his side. When the cry was raised for the second time, that of the plains side was greater in volume, and the leader of the mountain side was angry because he was deceived. Then he tried to get back from the other side some reinforcements, but the other side would not consent. Finally the dispute was settled by a promise that henceforward the mountain side was to be allowed to practise head-hunting in the plain country whenever a human head was required." Such is the popular explanation, but we must seek the true cause in their religious beliefs and social regulations.

The Taiyal believe only in the existence of the spirits of the dead. Their idea is that a human being consists of body and spirit (*Ottoffu*); the latter becomes separated from the body after death and goes to the summit of the highest mountain, which they regard with great reverence and fear. They believe that when a man dies his spirit will not reach the place where those of his ancestors are collected unless he was successful in head-hunting during his life-time; otherwise his spirit goes down to the lower world or hell. They also believe that their fate is controlled by the spirits of ancestors. Sneezing is unlucky, as then the spirit is supposed to leave the body for a time. They also believe that natural calamities are due to the displeasure of the spirits of ancestors, and to propitiate them they perform head-hunting.

A second explanation depends on their family organization. The Taiyal family is patrilocal, while the Ami on the east coast, the most civilized tribe, have the matrilocal combined with the age-grade systems. The unit of Taiyal society is the village (*Kaaran*, meaning "neighbours"), and one or more villages form three different social groups. At the outset the village is formed by a group of families related to each other. As time goes on its population is increased by emigrants from outside. In some cases the village houses are built close to each other, especially on the eastern side of the central mountain range; but on the western side the houses are scattered over a comparatively wide area. As stated above, one or more villages form the three following social groups:

(1) The ceremonial group, *Kottofu Gakaa* (*Kottofu*, besides the numeral "one," means a joint undertaking; *Gakaa* means "custom" or "ceremony").

(2) The hunting group, *Kottofu Shinu-Ritta* or *Rittanu* (*Ritta* or *Rittanu* meaning "going out together for hunting").

(3) The purification group, *Kottofu Minekku-kanu*. (*Minekku-kanu* means "to eat together").

The people belonging to the first group must practise the ceremonies at sowing and harvest, and worship the spirits of ancestors in common at a certain period in each year. They must also observe mourning when the death of a member of the group occurs. In many cases the second or hunting group is identical with the first or ceremonial group; but more than two ceremonial groups may form a hunting group, or a number of hunting groups may form a larger ceremonial group. For the third group, I use the term "purification," but in fact it shares the fines levied on those who violate village custom. The Taiyal consider marriage, divorce, illicit intercourse between man and woman, murder, and other acts contrary to the village custom as causes of impurity, and when such offences

occur it is necessary to perform a purification ceremony; usually the offender provides *Rukks Kaha* or *Aka*,[4] or a rifle, with which they buy a pig which is slaughtered. By this sacrifice it is considered that the purification is complete. Its meat is distributed among the members of a group. In many cases the purification group is identical with the ceremonial group, but in some cases a number of the ceremonial groups combine to form a purification group. The following is the custom in the Taikokan district, west of the central mountain range.

The ceremonial groups in this district are very small, the largest consisting of little more than ten families, which are usually descended from common ancestors. The chief of the group is called *Morufo* ("elders"). This term is also applied to the ancestors and to the headmen of a village, and is usually assumed by the eldest man of a group. When he dies, or through illness or old age is unable to perform the duty, the next eldest man takes his place. The ritual performed by the ceremonial group is of three kinds: (1) *Sumato*, or the sowing ritual; (2) *Taaren kimiroff*, the harvest ritual; (3) *Shimiyushi*, or worship of spirits of ancestors. Of these rituals Nos. 1 and 3 are performed in common by members of the group, and No. 2 either in common or independently by each family. The sowing ritual marks the new year in the Taiyal calendar. No family can sow their fields unless they perform this rite. It is usually held between February and March in our calendar, when the moon is on the wane, that is, at the end of the lunar month. They dislike performing the ritual in the moonlight, and select a dark night for the purpose. In some cases they perform the ritual on the 7th or 8th month, or the 22nd or 23rd day of a lunar month. In the former

[4] Tiny shell beads strung together on a thread about 5 inches long; a number of these bead strings are stitched to a piece of cloth; a specimen is to be seen at the Pitt-Rivers Museum, Oxford. Beads, cloth and rifles are alike regarded as currency.

case it is held about the time when the moon goes down, and in the latter before the moon appears on the top of a mountain. When the day of the ceremony is fixed by the chief, the men of the group first go out hunting, and the game killed is kept for the coming feast, while the women are engaged in pounding rice and millet and preparing liquor. On the afternoon before the feast day new fire is prepared in each house and communication with other houses is suspended. In the meantime the following tabu, called *Pijiri*, must be observed. New fire is made by means of friction, and the pump-drill is used for this purpose. This fire must be kept until the feast days are over, during which period it is not allowed to be lent to others. It is also tabu to touch hemp, needles, or spinning wheels, and every household puts hemp and hemp string in a store-room before the feast day. Members of the group engaged in the ritual are not allowed to communicate with the outside world during the period. A member of the family who is absent must return, and a visitor to the family must go home on the day before the feast. Any new arrival during the feast must stay outside the village or in a neighbouring village till the feast is over. A man who violates this rule is killed or has to pay compensation. No one is allowed to use a needle, drill, comb, or knife made of metal. If such things must be used they are made of bamboo.

On the first day of the feast hundreds of small round pastes are prepared at the chief's house, and when the night arrives a man from each family in the group assembles at his house. When these men arrive the chief starts from his house, accompanied by a man or two, towards the east or west, the direction being determined each year. The party carries torches and a bamboo basket, in which seeds of rice, millet and sorghum, pastes, and a piece of boar's meat are placed, with a bamboo tube containing spirits, while the chief carries a small hoe in his hand. When the party

arrives at a distance of about a hundred yards from the house, the chief digs the ground for a space of about a foot square, and on this patch he plants the seed and covers it with earth; close by he digs another plot, where a portion of the pastes and meat are buried, and upon them he pours the liquor, while the spirits of ancestors are worshipped with the following prayer: "We now bury seed and meat; kindly give us good crops and plenty of game." Then the party returns to the chief's house with the remainder of the liquor and pastes. When the party reaches the house the people who remain behind come out and receive them at the door, while the chief recites the following words: "A good crop and plenty game!" Then he gives to each of those who stayed behind the remainder of the pastes and liquor which he carried. During this time the party outside and those within should not cross the threshold. When the feast is over the chief enters the house and all the men go back to their homes.

On the second day every family gets up early in the morning and prepares the pastes. Then the man and woman attired in their best clothes spend the time in feasting. On the third day the chief and a number of men go out hunting. If no game is killed, the hunt must be repeated next day; the final day of the feast is called *Suramow* ("to see blood"); and unless game is killed it is considered that the tabu is still in force. Soon after *Suramow* the sprouts of the seeds are extracted, and by this act the ritual is completed. I was told that it was once the rule among the people of the Nanwō district that the heads of enemies are required on the first day.

Taaren kimiroff (harvest ritual). As stated above, this ritual is held in common by members of the group, but in recent years there is a tendency to perform it separately by each family. On the first day of this festival every family makes new fire, as in the case of the sowing ritual, and for about three succeeding days the *Pijiri* or tabu is observed.

At about one o'clock on the morning of the second day the headman of each family, with a lighted torch in his hand, goes very quietly to the field. On this occasion he must not make a sound with his feet or cough. After he arrives at the field he cuts five or six ears of the crop with a bamboo knife, and places them under the roof of a hut erected in the field. When the first ears are gathered it is necessary not to touch others. The rest of this day is spent in feasting.

On the third day the headman of each family again goes to the field early in the morning and cuts a number of ears. Then the rest of the family follow him to the field and continue cutting until noon. On this day the people in the field must keep apart from each other, and are not allowed to talk in a loud voice. In case it is necessary to converse, one must approach a person to whom he wishes to speak, and must talk in very low tones. No one must speak about crops, or use such words as *ujai*, "hungry," or *hatsukeya*, "thirsty." If such words are uttered they will hunger or thirst till next harvest. They must use the words *mutonge*, "a full stomach," or *fuujakku*, "my throat is wet."

When the new grain is cooked for the first time, the youngest boy in the family must eat some of it before the others. Then the rest of the family follow him. It is prohibited to give the food prepared from the new grain to people outside the family. Also it is not allowed to consume new food all at once; it must be eaten twice. In case the food is prepared, it must be left to be naturally cooled. All these superstitions involve a form of magic by which plentifulness of the crop is secured. A portion of the new crop is kept within the house and it is eaten until the new moon appears; the rest is placed in a store-room, whence it should not be removed before the new moon rises. This is also a form of magic to secure fertility. Like the moon, it must not wane, but wax.

Shumi-Yushi (worship of the spirits of ancestors). This festival is held in common by members of the group, soon after the new crop is harvested; in fact, it is intended to offer the new crop to the spirits of ancestors. It is also called *Burin wuttofu* ("to throw towards the spirits"). It is usually held in day-time between May and June of our calendar. In this ritual no regard is paid to the moon, as in the case of the other festivals. Before the festival each family goes out hunting, prepares spirits, and grinds the grain. On the day before the festival the chief of the group cuts a branch of a tree or of a bamboo with four twigs. On the feast day he gets up early in the morning and cooks millet, of which small dumplings are made. On the same morning each family of the group sends out a man, and they assemble at the chief's house. Each of the men wraps a dumpling in an oak leaf and, tying it up with a string, attaches it to the branch, which is made to look as if it was bearing fruit. Then the chief, followed by all the men assembled in the house, takes up the branch in his hand and proceeds towards the east or the west, the direction being determined every year. At a place about a hundred yards from the house, he ties up the branch, which he carried, to a branch of a big tree and offers the following prayer: "O spirits of our ancestors, come and help yourselves!" After saying this the chief and men run about, crying in a loud voice "Stab wild pigs! stab wild pigs!" and then go back to the house and hold a feast.

The following tabus are observed during the period of ritual, besides the *Pijiri* mentioned above. In case a death in a family of the group occurs, all other members of the same group must suspend work for two or three days; and members of the group must not perform any ceremonies during that year. In case any family is arranging a marriage, its members must not take part in the ceremonies.

(2) *Kottofu Shinu-Rittanu* (hunting group). The chief of this group is also called *Moruho*; in some cases, in order to distinguish him, he is styled *Moruho-nu-Shinu-Rittanu*. The chief is usually the most respected man in the group; he controls the members of the group, and takes command in hunting, head-hunting and war. It is also his duty to protect the people under his control, and he often acts as a go-between in arranging marriage, and as a mediator in disputes. If one of his subjects is refractory he chastises him after consulting the elders, whom he associates with himself in all matters of importance.

Before a tribal hunt the spirits of ancestors are invoked to provide good sport, and omens are taken from birds. In case a deer is caught, the skin and horns are the share of the owner of the dog which chased the animal. The man who shot the game receives the hoofs and those organs which are highly valued by the Chinese as medicine. The head is given to the chief or to a visitor from another group. The meat is divided, the hunters receiving the ribs and offal.

(3) *Kottofu Minekku-kanu* (purification group). Very often a hunting group forms a purification group; while in other cases two or more small hunting groups are organized into a purification group.

The Taiyals consider marriage, divorce and child-birth as causes of uncleanness that require purification; for which purpose the parties concerned must pay compensation to the group. The same is the case with illicit intercourse, theft, murder and violation of village customs. Usually a pig is purchased out of the amount paid, and, by slaughtering it, its blood acts as a purification, its meat being distributed to each family in the group. If the offender refuses to pay the fine, it can be levied by force. In case a member of the group receives an injury from people of another group, the group can demand compensation from the offender; a portion goes to the sufferer,

and the rest is distributed among the members. Some people think this compensation unlucky, and will not admit it into their houses, but put it in a hollow tree until a pig is purchased from the proceeds. When another group claims compensation, the chief must consider the case, and, if he finds the demand reasonable, will instruct the offender to pay. If it be found unreasonable, it becomes the duty of the group to resist, even to the taking up of arms. In this way intratribal warfare is apt to break out for very trivial causes.

If a woman, after the birth of a child, does not perform the rite of purification, the ancestral spirits are offended, and send storms. The purification ceremony must take place within ten or twenty days after the birth, and it is performed either by the mother herself, or by sending for a magician woman, who burns a piece of camphor as she mutters incantations, while the mother holds the baby with its head covered with a cloth. The magician woman then says to the mother, "I now remove all impurity, and you may go out and there will be no storms." Then the woman throws the piece of burning camphor outside the door, and the mother follows with the baby; she points to the heaven, offers prayer and returns to the house. After the purification ceremony is over, the family invite relations and friends to a feast, in which a pig is killed and spirits are prepared, while each guest brings a present. On this day the family must give presents to the brothers and cousins of the mother, and this marks the completion of the purification rite. Her brothers cannot look at their sister's child until these gifts have been received. The child is named one or two months after birth, either by the parents or by the elders. The Taiyal have no family name, and, in the case of two or more persons being named alike, the father's or mother's name is added. The child is usually placed in a rattan basket, and when the mother goes out to the field she always takes the basket with her

and places it under a tree. When a boy attains the age of seven or eight, he is placed under the care of the father, who teaches him the brave deeds of his ancestors and other heroes of the village, in order that the boy may develop a warlike spirit. The father also teaches his boy the art of using a sword and fire-arms, and takes him out hunting. He also instructs him how to cultivate the land and to make baskets and other implements. In some cases the father will throw his son into a rapid from the top of a high cliff in order to force him to learn to swim.

In respect to marriage, the Taiyal strictly avoid marriage between blood relations. They also enforce strict monogamy. The age for marriage, both for a boy and girl, is sixteen or seventeen years. When a woman is married, or has attained the marriageable age, she is required to be tatooed on both cheeks. Normally a wife is held to enter into her husband's family, and is thus debarred from subsequent marriage with his lineal descendants or other blood relations. In one group, however, this rule is relaxed, namely among the Gaogan-, east of the central mountain range. Among them a stepson may marry a step-mother when the father is dead. But in this case it is necessary to perform the *Kanma-ishi* or purification ceremony.

In the Taiyal family the parents have absolute control over their children, and arrange their marriage. It is the duty of children to obey the order of their parents, but, in case there already exists mutual love between a boy and a girl, they generally ask the consent of their parents. It is a rule among them that the marriage proposal should be made by the boy's family; the term for the proposal is *Shimijai*. The marriage negotiation extends in some cases over a month, and very often it requires a year to arrive at a settlement. Generally the girl's family does not give a ready consent, and the request must be repeated several times. It is considered an honour to receive

repeated marriage offers. For the purpose of negotiation a go-between is appointed. He must be a good talker and an important person in a group. In many cases the chief of the group is entrusted with the mission, as he has more influence than any other person. It is also his duty to settle any dispute which occurs between a man and woman after they are married. The remuneration given to the go-between is paid by the boy's family. It consists of several pieces of beaded cloth and hand-woven stuff, a pot of wine and several chickens. When the go-between is entrusted with his mission he will first consult a bird's omen; if it is a bad omen, he must again consult it; in case the bad omen continues three times, he declines the mission. When the go-between arrives at the girl's house, he must not at once open the negotiations. He must pretend that he only made a friendly visit; and after staying for several days, and when there happens to be a good opportunity, he will open the negotiation with the parents. But it is strictly prohibited to talk on the subject in the presence of brothers and cousins of the girl. If his negotiation fails, the envoy performs a purification rite before leaving the house. In case his proposal is accepted, he must fix the amount of the bride-money between the parties. The bride-money is called *Naaze* or *Binajii*, "buying and selling." It usually consists of from twenty to two hundred pieces of beaded cloth, according to the circumstances of the family. In case they cannot obtain beaded cloth a rifle or a piece of hand-woven stuff takes its place. When an agreement as to the bride-money is reached, the whole village or the ceremonial group to which the boy's family belongs go out hunting or fishing. The meat obtained is cut into large slices, and is either preserved with salt or with cooked rice for use at the succeeding ceremonies. Also a large amount of wine is prepared at the house of the boy and his relations. When all these preparations are complete, the fact is communicated to

the girl's family. Then the parents, brothers and sisters of the girl, accompanied by their relations, the chief of the village and a number of villagers, visit the boy's family and inspect the bride-money. Previously to their arrival, the articles will be laid out in the inner yard of the house to await an inspection. When the party arrives a relative of the bride counts the articles, and if the number be found correct they accept it. When the business is over the go-between sits on a wooden mortar and performs a rite, which is also called *Shibarai*. He holds in his hand a cup of water and says the following words: "The negotiation is hereby completed; the two families have become relations by the exchange of presents; if there occurs any dissatisfaction in future it must be discussed amicably." Then the heads of the two families reply, "Yes." Upon this the go-between dips his forefinger in water, and this is also done by the heads of the girl's family and of the boy's family. By performing this ceremony it is considered that the marriage negotiation is settled, and neither party is allowed to break it. When this rite is ended the boy's family bring out the preserved meat and wine, with which they treat the girl's family and the people of their village. During this feast the bridegroom appears, and he addresses the brothers and male cousins of the bride, calling each of them *Nanai*, meaning "brother of his wife," and offers them a cup of wine. Then he goes round the parents, uncles, aunts, sisters and female cousins, calling each of them relations and offering them a cup of wine. When the feast is over the boy's family gives a portion of meat and wine to the relations of the bride and the villagers, and then they go home. The parents, brothers and sisters of the bride remain behind, and spend several days with the boy's family.

In some groups the bride-money is handed over when a child is born after the marriage. Otherwise, a few days after the bride-money has been taken back by the girl's

family, they are visited by the boy and his relations, the ceremony being known as *Musa magaaru kanairen*, "to receive the woman." They have meanwhile arranged the presents from the bride in the inner court of the house. The kind and amount of these are at their discretion; but, the richer the gift, the more honour to the bride. When the visitors arrive, the bridegroom gives a present to each of the bride's parents and brothers, usually a piece of bead cloth. Thereupon for the first time bridegroom and bride meet. Having previously prepared with her own hands new clothes, a chest cloth, a turban and a tobacco pouch for the bridegroom, the bride now wears these above her garments and, when the meeting takes place, transfers them to his body. This ceremony is called *Pirrikkus mirikin*, "to put clothes on the husband." After it, there is a feast in the bride's house, the bridegroom's party spending the night there. Next morning the husband goes forth, carrying with him a pair of his wife's leggings (*shirake*), and consults the omen of birds. If it be propitious, he will take his bride home, otherwise he must wait another night. When at length they proceed to his house, the bride goes first, then the husband, next the wife's relations, and finally the husband's family; the wife's fellow villagers are not included in the party. On arrival at the husband's house, his mother and female relations warmly welcome the bride, and invite her to sit on the husband's bed. A feast is held, and on this night the couple sleep together for the first time. After a night or two spent at the husband's house the wife's people return home.

The dead are usually buried inside the house they occupied in a contracted position, and their belongings, including arms, are laid beside them in the grave. In many cases the corpse is buried facing the west; but the corpse of a man who fell in war or in a head-hunting expedition is left in the forest. The family of the dead man

observes mourning for a period of from eight to twenty days. During this period the relations are not allowed to drink, or eat meat and fish ; nor are they allowed to touch hemp, weave, or sew. They also are not permitted to grind millet or rice, as it is believed that the sound of the pestle disturbs the dead, and strangers may not exchange seeds and fire with the family which is in the mourning.

In all matters omens from birds are consulted. The bird usually selected by the Taiyal is called *Shi-shi Rekku*, a kind of wagtail. This bird is believed to possess the power of regulating good and ill luck. It is held that, if its warning be neglected, it will purposely deceive next time. The bird is so highly respected that in case it is caught in a trap it is at once released. Children never attempt to catch it or throw stones at it. The following are recognised kinds of omen, one being lucky, the rest unlucky :

(1) *Mi-shukku* ("answer"). The enquirer proceeds in any direction. An omen-bird sings on one side of his path—it does not matter which,—and another bird is heard on the opposite side further on beyond the range of the cry of the first bird. This means good luck, and is called *Mi-shukku*. If, still further on, a third bird is heard on the same side as the first, this is also lucky, and is called *Mimi-pussarru-mi-shukku*. If a fourth is then heard on the side of the second, it is called *Minu-chipru-mi-shukku*, and is extremely lucky. (At this point, however, people sometimes grow confused, and have doubts about the genuineness of the omen.)

(2) *Maga-ran* or *Mei-ran* or *Mine-ran*. If two birds on opposite sides sing parallel to each other or diagonally so as to be within sound of one another, it is unlucky ; with the single exception that it means luck in fishing with plant-poison (*Toba*).

(3) *Tsunu-tsunu* or *Chin-ton* ("repetition"). When two birds sing on the same side, if it happen on the left, it is

unlucky ; if on the right, hardly less unlucky. No business ought to be conducted on that day.

(4) *Mira-an* or *Para-yashi* or *Ruma-an* (" desperate," or " the last extremity "). If a bird flies across the line of direction either at right angles or diagonally, it is unlucky unless it occur soon after *Mi-shukku*, when it would be very lucky.

If a woman who is in child encounter the omen of *Magaran* when on her way to the fields or about to draw water, she at once returns home. If men engaged on a head-hunting expedition observe any of the three kinds of unlucky omen they build a hut on the spot and spend the night there, consulting the omens again next morning. So, too, any one of these unfavourable signs will cause the postponement of a visit to arrange a marriage or other matter of importance.

SHINJI ISHII.

THE CURSING OF VENIZELOS.[1]

BY SIR J. G. FRAZER.

THE following account of a barbarous ritual, lately performed by the highest dignitaries of the Greek Church in Athens, was sent to me by Dr. R. M. Burrows, Principal of King's College, London, in a letter dated 16 January, 1917, in which he says: "The enclosed is written from a cable that we received from the Venizelists at Salonica, and the accounts of the correspondents of the English papers. For some reason or other it did not appeal to the daily press and has not been widely published." The account runs thus:

"The extraordinary ceremony of 'Anathema' against M. Venizelos performed on Christmas Day [1916] by the ecclesiastical authorities of Athens at the instigation of the League of Reservists has had its uses—besides providing anthropologists with the most remarkable instance on record of the survival in Europe amid the forms of civilisation of a magic ritual common to savages all over the world. The Metropolitan of Athens, as it was reported at the time, solemnly excommunicated a bull's head (which presumably represented the body of Venizelos), and cast the first stone; and then each member of the crowd assembled by King Constantine's hooligans cast a stone on the pile and uttered a curse against the man who had 'plotted against the King.' But King Constantine's appearance as a Hottentot witch-doctor had unexpected results, and only served to prove even in his own stronghold that all the terrorism of German autocracy could not quench the real

[1] This article has, by the kind permission of Sir J. G. Frazer and the Editor, been reprinted from *The New Europe*, vol. ii. No. 19, February 22, 1917.

devotion of the Greek people to M. Venizelos. From fuller accounts of the ceremony now received by the Anglo-Hellenic League it appears that during the night the cairn of stones so solemnly cursed and supposed to symbolise the 'casting out' of the 'traitor,' was covered with masses of flowers; and in the morning these bright garlands were seen to be attached to an inscription which read 'From the Venizelists of Athens.'"

This cursing and stoning of the great statesman and good patriot Venizelos, who has been banished from Athens by traitors, resembles the cursing and stoning of King David, when that great monarch was banished from Jerusalem by the treachery of his unnatural son Absalom, who had usurped the throne. As David and the procession of loyal men who followed their beloved king into exile were wending their way sadly down the steep road which descends from Jerusalem into the deep valley of the Jordan, a certain Benjamite named Shimei kept pace with them on the hill-side above, and as he went he threw stones at the king and his escort and cursed, saying, "Begone, begone, thou man of blood, and man of Belial!" This was more than one of the king's captains, a man of hot blood, could bear, and he asked David, "Why should this dead dog curse my lord the king? Let me go over, I pray thee, and take off his head." But the king received the curses and the stones with magnanimous patience, and rebuked the fiery Hotspur who would have washed out the insult on the spot with the caitiff's blood. He reminded his would-be champion that his own son Absalom was at that moment seeking his father's life, and "How much more," he asked, "may this Benjamite now do it? Let him alone, and let him curse; for the Lord hath bidden him. It may be that the Lord will look on the wrong done unto me, and that the Lord will requite me good for his cursing of me this day." [2]

The king's trust in Providence was not misplaced. In a short time the traitor and usurper was defeated and slain,

[2] 2 Samuel, xvi. 5-13.

as he hung by the hair of his head in the forest which witnessed the discomfiture of the rebel army. The king came to his own again and returned in triumph to Jerusalem, the people flocking to welcome him at the ford over the Jordan, which he had lately crossed in haste, a fugitive and an exile. And the first to meet him at the ford was the very man who had so lately cursed and stoned him. There stood Shimei, the Benjamite, waiting for him; and when the bearer who had carried the king through the water deposited his royal burden respectfully on the shore, the quondam railer and bully, now turned toady and lickspittle, fell on his face before the king and begged for mercy, saying, "Let not my lord impute iniquity unto me, neither do thou remember that which thy servant did perversely the day that my lord the king went out of Jerusalem, that the king should take it to his heart. For thy servant doth know that I have sinned: therefore, behold, I am come this day the first of all the house of Joseph to go down to meet my lord the king." The same hot-headed soldier, who would have had Shimei's blood when he cursed and stoned the king, now earnestly requested to be allowed to take it when the fellow fawned and grovelled before his Majesty. But again the king calmly checked the impetuosity of his too zealous adherent, saying that no blood should sully the happy day of the royal restoration. So saying, he turned to Shimei and gave him his life. "Thou shalt not die," he said, and confirmed the pardon with an oath.[3]

The parallel is of happy augury for M. Venizelos. He, too, we believe, will return in honour and glory to his own

[3] 2 Samuel, xix. 15-23. In verse 18 the English version has: "And there went over a ferry boat to bring over the king's household." But the true reading and translation of the passage seems to be: "And they passed to and fro over the ford in order to bring the king's household over." See S. R. Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text and the Topography of the Books of Samuel*, 2nd edition (Oxford, 1913), p. 335. So far as I am aware, there is no evidence of a ferry over the Jordan in antiquity. People had simply to splash through the water, or to ride over it on the backs of men or beasts.

in Athens, and he will doubtless complete the parallel by treating with the same magnanimous disdain the contemptible ecclesiastic who has cursed and stoned him.

The ritual by which the Metropolitan of Athens has disgraced his cloth and his Church, without inflicting the smallest harm on the object of his impotent wrath, is unquestionably of heathen origin, and, set off by the gorgeous habiliments of the officiating clergy, must have presented the same sort of ludicrous medley which is sometimes displayed by the untutored savage, who struts and flaunts in a grotesque combination of native paint and foreign velvet. In Europe such mummeries only contribute to the public hilarity, and bring the Church which parades them into contempt.

The combination of stones and curses directed at a person who, for one reason or another, is out of reach, seems to be not uncommon; ignorance and malignity apparently trust to one or other, if not both, of these missiles hitting their mark in some manner unexplained. The poet Propertius ungallantly invited all lovers to pelt with stones and curses the grave of a certain lady whose reputation, by a stretch of charity, might perhaps be described as dubious.[4]

A writer on Syrian folklore has described "the customs with regard to casting curses or prayers with stones from the hand. All tourists to Jerusalem have seen Absalom's tomb, and the hole in the base of its pinnacle through which generations of Jews have conveyed thus their imprecations on an ungrateful and impious son. . . . At Biskinta, on the Lebanon, is the tomb of a Druze who, tradition says, was buried alive to obtain merit in the next stage of his existence; for the Druzes believe in the transmigration of souls. Greek Orthodox Christians in the village—and they only—cast stones on this grave with muttered curses as they pass." [5]

[4] Propertius, v. 5, 77 *sqq.*

[5] Fr. Sessions, "Some Syrian Folklore Notes," *Folk-Lore*, ix. (1898) p. 15.

A traveller in Palestine has described how between Sidon and Tyre his Mohammedan companions discharged stones and curses, with equal force and volubility, at the grave of a celebrated robber who had been knocked on the head there some fifty years before, and who still continued to receive this double testimony to his character from passers-by, whose stones remained in a heap on the spot, while their curses had melted into thin air.[6] After all a stone is perhaps a more effective missile to hurl at a man than a curse, unless, indeed, as Voltaire justly observed, the curse is accompanied with a sufficient dose of arsenic.

In view of the extraordinary persistence—we may almost say the indestructibility—of superstition, it seems likely that the remarkable rite of cursing recently directed against M. Venizelos has not been simply invented by his enemies, but that it is based on a tradition which has been handed down from antiquity, though I am not able to cite any exact parallel in ancient Greek literature. Euripides represents the adulterer and murderer, Ægisthus, flushed with wine, leaping on the grave of his victim and pelting it with stones, but he does not say that the villain reinforced with curses these expressions of his malignant hate.[7] Perhaps a nearer resemblance to the modern ecclesiastical comedy, in which the Metropolitan of Athens took the principal part, may be found in the treatment which Plato in his *Laws* recommended should be meted out to the wretch who had murdered his father or mother, his brother or sister, his son or daughter. According to the philosopher, the criminal should be put to death and his body cast out naked at a cross-road outside of the city; then the magistrates should assemble, and each of them should cast a stone at the head of the corpse in order to purge the city from the pollution it had contracted by so

[6] G. P. Badger, note on *The Travels of Ludovico di Varthema* (Hakluyt Society, London, 1863), p. 45.

[7] Euripides, *Electra*, 326-328.

heinous a crime.[8] Here, again, the writer says nothing about any curses by which the throwing of stones may possibly have been accompanied. But the context proves that, in this part of his ideal legislation, Plato was less concerned with the punishment of the criminal than with the purification of the city, which was believed to have been defiled by his act; it may be, therefore, that imprecations formed no part of the ritual of purification contemplated by the philosopher. Whether that was so or not, we may surmise that, in prescribing this form of atonement for parricide, matricide, and similar aggravated cases of murder, Plato had his eye on certain expiatory rites which were either actually observed in his time or traditionally reported to have been observed by gods or men in former ages. For, with the growing conservatism of age, Plato in the *Laws* clipped those wings of his imagination which had borne him aloft in the *Republic* into the blue. In his later work he took a lower flight, and hovered much nearer to Greek earth and Greek usage than when he had surveyed the whole world from the empyreal heights of pure idealism. Now a ritual not unlike that which our philosopher prescribed in the case of parricide was said to have been observed at the trial of the great god Hermes for the murder of Argus. The gods, we are told, who sat in judgment on the divine prisoner at the bar, each cast a stone at him by way of purifying themselves from the pollution of his crime; hence the origin of those heaps of stones which, in ancient Greece, were to be seen by the wayside surmounted by images of Hermes, and to which every passer-by added a stone.[9]

[8] Plato, *Laws*, ix. 12, p. 873 A.C.

[9] *Etymologicum Magnum*, *s.v.* Ἑρμαῖον, pp. 375 *sq.*; Eustathius on Homer, *Odyssey*, xvi. 471. As to these heaps of stones, see Cornutus, *Theologiae Graecae Compendium*, 16; Babrius, *Fabulae*, xlviii. 1; Suidas, *s.v.* Ἑρμαῖον; Scholiast on Nicander, *Ther.* 150. Of these writers Cornutus is the only one who mentions the custom of every passer-by adding to the pile.

Here, again, the casting of the stones is clearly a rite of purification rather than of commination, and it was probably not supposed to have been accompanied with curses.

The bull's head at which, in default of the head of M. Venizelos, the clerical and lay blackguards of Athens hurled their stones and curses, has its parallel in the sacrificial ritual of ancient Egypt. Herodotus tells us that the Egyptians used to sacrifice black bulls, and that when they had slaughtered the victim at the altar, they skinned the carcase, cut off the head, loaded it with curses, and sold it to any Greeks who might be resident in the town; but if there happened to be no Greek population in the place, the Egyptians carried the bull's head to the river and threw it into the water. The curses which they levelled at the bull's head consisted in an imprecation, that whatever evil was about to befall either the sacrificers themselves or the whole land of Egypt, might be diverted therefrom and concentrated on the head.[10] Naturally, no native Egyptian would purchase a head laden with malisons so dreadful; but the Greek traders appear to have calculated, with great justice, that the curses could not affect foreigners, and as the cursed heads no doubt sold a good deal cheaper than common heads in the market, and were quite as good to eat, a shrewd Greek householder probably rather preferred to dine on a bull's head which had been blasted by the ecclesiastical thunder.

It will be observed that in this Egyptian rite the priests apparently confined themselves to loading the black bull's head with curses; they did not give point and weight to their maledictions by pelting it with stones. In short, in ancient Egyptian ritual we have found curses without stones, and in ancient Greek ritual stones without curses. The Metropolitan of Athens has combined both weapons, the material and the spiritual, in the assault, as futile as

[10] Herodotus, ii. 39.

it was ridiculous, which he headed against the wisest and greatest of his countrymen. By the flowers, which next morning covered the shameful heap of stones, Greek patriotism converted the insult into a tribute of homage to the true leader of Greece.

J. G. Frazer.

BULL-BAITING, BULL-RACING, BULL-FIGHTS.

BY W. CROOKE.

(*Read before the Society, 15th November*, 1916.)

In a beehive tomb of the Mycenaean age, at Vaphio, near Sparta, which was excavated in 1889, the most remarkable discovery was that of two gold cups, probably made in Crete, perhaps the finest achievement of Minoan art. On one of these cups we see a bull caught in a net, which is fastened at each end to a tree. The beast is thrown on his forequarters on the ground, and is lifting up his head and bellowing in distress. To the right is seen another bull, which has apparently just cleared the toils at a bound and is galloping away. To the left a third bull is charging in the opposite direction. Two men, apparently unarmed, the huntsmen no doubt who had laid the toils, have attempted to bar his way; but the bull has knocked one of them down, and is in the act of tossing the other on his left horn.[1]

On two gems from Crete, now in the British Museum, we find possibly another part of the same incident. In the first we see a bull walking to the right, guarded by a man who stands on the further side of the animal, and holds a cord in both hands which is fastened to the bull's horns.[2] On the second gem we see a bull led by two men, one at its side, the other apparently on its back, but probably meant to be on the further side of the animal.[3]

[1] C. Schuchhardt, *Schliemann's Excavations*, 350 (with an illustration); Sir J. Frazer, *Pausanias*, iii. 135 *et seq.*

[2] *Journal Hellenic Society*, xvii. (1897) 67.

[3] *Ibid.* 70.

In a relief on a slab found in Egypt, and now in the Louvre, a bull is goring a man who lies on the ground; the other huntsman seems to have been tossed by the bull.[4]

Again, one of the finest frescoes discovered by Schliemann in the citadel of Tiryns represents a mighty bull galloping at full speed to the left. Its body is painted a yellowish colour with many red spots. The short head with big round eyes carries a pair of powerful horns, curved to the front. A man balances himself on its back, just touching the animal with his right knee and the tip of his toe, while he throws his other leg high up in the air, and holds on to the bull's horn with his right hand.[5] On some Greek coins from Catana in Sicily we see a man-headed bull with a figure remarkably like the acrobat of Tiryns, on his back.[6]

In the palace at Knossos, again, Sir A. Evans discovered what has been called "The Toreador Fresco," that decorated a wall on the east side of the building. It shows a boy and two girls in male attire, performing with bulls. One of the girls is about to leap over the bull by clutching its horns, or to be tossed by the furious beast. The other girl stands with outstretched arms, ready to catch a youth who is successfully performing the dangerous leap. The composition, a whole, is admittedly a triumph of ancient art, as any one may judge from the copy now in the Ashmolean Museum.[7]

Needless to say, these fine works of art have given rise to speculation, and the incidents depicted have formed the subject of controversy. Some authorities are disposed to

[4] Frazer, *op. cit.* iii. 136.

[5] Schuchhardt, *op. cit.* 119 *et seq.* (with an illustration); Frazer, *op. cit.* iii. 229. Ivory figures of bull-fighters from Cnossos, *Report British School Athens*, viii. plates ii. iii. p. 72 *seq.*; Schliemann, *Tiryns*, plate xiii.

[6] Schuchhardt, 120.

[7] C. H. and H. B. Hawes, *Crete the Forerunner of Greece*, 120; *Annual British School at Athens*, vii. 94, viii. 94; *Journal Hellenic Society*, xx. (1900) 170, xxii. (1902) 382.

regard the scenes depicted on the cup and on the fresco as merely incidents of sport and amusements. Thus, Sir James Frazer, writing of the Tiryns fresco, remarks that since the discovery of the Vaphio cup, "archaeologists have come to the conclusion that the wall-painting in question represents nothing more than a man catching a bull." [8] Schuchhardt writes regarding the same fresco, that up to now the man has been explained as an acrobat, such as Homer describes, leaping on the back of horses in full career.[9]

It has, however, been urged that the bull was a sacred animal in Minoan times, and that it is improbable that in the period when this feeling prevailed the holy beast should have been exposed to violence, unless it was for a ritual purpose, or that he should have been used merely for purposes of amusement. The bull, as the prime object of sacrifice, was offered to the Mother goddess, whose fostering care embraced all living creatures and followed them into the underworld. "He was," to use the words of two careful Cretan archaeologists, "royal and sacred, the most useful of animals, and chief object of the hunt. His horns, both the actual trophies and copies in clay, were set up on altars, shrines and palaces, and libations of his blood were poured through rhytons [or drinking horns] made of various materials in the shape of his head, just as in the early Chinese ritual the blood was offered in a bronze vessel made in the shape of the animal that was sacrificed."[10] The same writers tell us that in the west court at Knossos was found "the spirited life-size figure of a bull, a conspicuous representation of the royal, sacred and heraldic beast, as significant to a Minoan populace as is the White Elephant to the Siamese." [11]

It is again urged that it is no answer to this view to

[8] *Op. cit.* iii. 228.

[9] *Iliad.* xv. 679.

[10] G. B. E. Williams, *Gournia*, 52. Quoted by Messrs. Hawes, *op. cit.* 140 f.

[11] *Ibid.* 66 *et seq.*

contend that the violent capture or treatment of such an animal disproves its sanctity. Sir James Frazer has shown that the Corn Spirit is often conceived to take animal form, and such animals, like the boar, which is sacred to the Rajputs, are killed at an annual ceremonial hunt.[12] The buffalo is the sacred animal of the Todas, and yet Dr. Rivers remarks that the sport which is practised by the tribe with the greatest zest is the catching of buffaloes, which are intended to be sacrificed at the funeral rites. In the olden days he supposes that this observance must have been largely of a sportive character. "Even now it is evident that the catching of the buffaloes is much enjoyed by all in spite of the sad event which has led to its taking place. The Todas have, however, pure games, though it is doubtful whether some of them have not acquired to a certain degree a ceremonial character." [13]

Conscious of the difficulty of treating the Minoan treatment of the bull as merely a form of sport, Dr. F. Marx, with reference to the Catana coin already described, contends that the bull must be a river god, and the man who chases it is probably one of the Sileni, who, as personifications of streams and springs, often appear in the train of river deities. Dr. Schuchhardt, however, thinks that recent discoveries have led us back to the original belief that the man is merely an acrobat.[14] I am not aware of any good evidence which suggests that the Minoan sport or religious-magical performance was connected with the worship of river deities.

Dr. Reichel,[15] again, supporting the view that the scene represents an acrobatic performance, assumes that the primitive custom of bull-baiting passed through three stages of evolution: first, the earliest form, the capture of a bull by one or more unarmed men, who cling tenaciously

[12] *The Golden Bough*, part v. vol. i. 270 *et seqq.*

[13] *The Todas*, 596.

[14] *Op. cit.* 120 *et seq.*

[15] Quoted by A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, i. 497 *et seq.*

to its horns; secondly, out of this developed the favourite Minoan display, of which the most popular form was that of an athlete running at a charging bull, grasping it by its horns, and when he let go his hands, being shot over its back into safety; thirdly, many centuries later, came the Taurokathapsia, or Thessalian bull-baiting, somewhat analogous to the modern Spanish form, in which a toreador on horseback pursued a bull till it was exhausted, and then leaping upon it, twisted its horns and broke its neck, instead of stabbing the animal, as the Spaniard of our day does.

No one is more conscious than I am of the difficulty of drawing the line between what is a form of religious or magical ritual and what is only a form of sport or amusement. We know that many games are the worn-down survivals of some primitive custom or ritual. Lady Gomme, for instance, has, I think, with considerable probability shown that this is the case with some of the games now played by British children. What is originally a mere game, again, may be taken over and used as an incident in some form of ritual. Thus, discussing one phase of the subject on which we are now engaged, Dr. Farnell writes of the Taurokathapsia or Thessalian form of bull-baiting: "The chase of the wild bull by mounted riders on the Thessalian plains was no doubt at first merely a secular amusement or serious practical occupation. But that it should be taken over into divine worship was quite in accordance with the Hellenic tendency to consecrate all things of secular life. And Poseidon was the natural god to appropriate it; for the bull even more than the horse was his sacrificial animal, and was closely associated with him by the Minyan and Ionic peoples." [16]

The question has recently been examined by Mr. A. B. Cook in his learned monograph on the cults of Zeus. The conclusion at which he has arrived will be stated later on.

[16] *Cults of the Greek States*, iv. 25 *et seq.*

There are various difficulties in accepting the view of this able scholar. But he seems not to have been aware of some curious parallels, which he would possibly accept in confirmation of his views, and it is the main purpose of this paper to describe them.

I need hardly say that we must bear in mind the risk of explaining any custom or ritual by comparison with those current in distant regions, the peoples of which are not connected in any way. Mr. Cook himself admits he is not always satisfied that similarity of performance implies similarity of purpose.[17]

With this preliminary caution, we may examine some customs of bull-baiting or bull-driving in India and elsewhere.

Indian ceremonial bull-baiting or bull-driving assumes various forms. The first and most interesting for our present purpose is that popularly known as the Jellicut (properly Tamil *Jallikattu*, "the tying of ornaments"), the ornament being a piece of cloth attached to the horns of the animal. Among the Maravans of the Madura District in the Madras Presidency, according to one account, the people collect in an open space. The owners of the plough-bullocks in the village bring their animals, brag about their strength and speed, and challenge all and sundry to catch and hold them. A beast is brought out, and a new piece of cloth, the prize of the captor, is made fast round its horns. He is led into the arena, where, excited by the shouts of the bystanders, he charges viciously. He is pursued by the more active and courageous youths of the village, who avoid his charges by dropping on the ground. The game goes on till somebody succeeds in catching him. In this way some two or three hundred animals are "run" in the course of the day. Fatal results to the pursuers are said not to be common, but the sport is by some regarded as so dangerous that the authorities

[17] *Op. cit.* i. preface, xiii.

discourage it as far as possible. One writer, however, remarks: "Seeing that no one need run any risk unless he chooses, existing official opinion inclines to the view that it is a pity to discourage a manly amusement which is not really more dangerous than foot-ball, steeple-chasing, or fox-hunting." [18]

In dealing with a custom like this the date of the performance is of vital importance. In this case it is practised on the Mattu-pongal day, the day after the Pongal festival which is held on the Tamil New Year's Day, approximately on 12th January. This is a season at which we might naturally expect that rites for the promotion of fertility would take place. This is confirmed by the connexion of the rite of bull-baiting with marriage.

Among the Tamils in ancient times the Ayar or cowherd caste observed the custom of selecting husbands for their girls by the result of a form of bull-fight. Ferocious bulls were brought into an enclosure surrounded by palisades. The girls watched the proceedings from a platform, while the youths prayed to images of the gods placed under sacred trees or at watering-places, and decked themselves with red and purple flowers. "At a signal given by beating of drums, the youths leap into the enclosure and try to seize the bulls, which, frightened by the noise of the drums, are now ready to charge any one who approaches them. Each youth approaches a bull which he chooses to capture. But the bulls rush furiously with tails raised, heads bent down, and horns levelled at their assailants. Some of the youths face the bulls boldly and take hold of their tails. The now wary young men avoid the horns, and clasping the neck, cling to the animals till they force them to fall on the ground. Many a luckless youth is now thrown down. Some escape without a scratch, while others are trampled on or gored by the bulls. Some, though wounded

[18] E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, v. 43 *et seq.* (with a photograph of the bull bearing the cloth on his horns).

and bleeding, again spring on the bulls. A few who succeed in capturing the animals are declared the victors of that day's fight. The wounded are carried out of the enclosure and attended to immediately; while the victors and the brides-elect repair to an adjoining grove, and there, forming into groups, dance joyously before preparing for the marriage." [19]

This account, taken from ancient Tamil literature, agrees with the custom practised at the present day. "In the villages, especially in villages inhabited by the Kalla or robber tribes," a good native authority states that "the maiden chooses as her husband him who has safely untied and brought to her the cloth tied to the horns of the fiercest bull. The bullocks are let loose with their horns carrying valuables, amid the din of tom-toms and harsh music which terrify and bewilder them. They run madly about, and are purposely excited by the crowd. A young Kalla will declare that he will run after such and such a bullock —a risky pursuit—and recover the valuables tied to its horn, and he does so often in a dexterous manner. These *tamashas* [shows] take place on a grand scale in villages about Madura and Tinnevelly, where Kallas live in large numbers. Accidents are very common, but they are not allowed to interfere with the festivities. Besides, the Kalla considers it a great disgrace to be injured while chasing a bull." [20]

This may be one of the tests, common in folklore, in which the bride is allotted to the suitor who performs some special act of gallantry, such as slaying a dragon and the like. But the selection of a bull-baiting contest and the date at which it is performed seem to imply some special connexion with fertility rites.

There are other indications leading to the same conclusion. Thus, in a contest of a similar kind among the

[19] V. Kanakasabhai, *The Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago*, 57 *et seq.*

[20] Pandit S. M. Natesa Sastri, *Hindu Feasts, Fasts and Ceremonies*, 20 *et seq.*

Bants of Kanara "the proceedings commence with a procession, which is not infrequently headed by a couple of painted dolls in an attitude suggestive of reproductiveness, which the races really give thanks for." [21] Among the Parayans of Cochin, buffaloes belonging to different owners are made to run in competition in an open space round a temple. The contest, we are told, is intended to gain the favour of the Mother goddess, Bhagavati, the giver of fertility to men, animals and crops, and to keep the animals strong and healthy. This is the national festival in Malabar, known as Pothu-ottal, or "Buffalo Race." [22] So in Kanara, on the day of the Diwali, or feast of lights, at which the family ghosts revisit their houses and a rite of expulsion of evil is performed, the Halvakki Vakkals, a cultivating caste, eat a hearty breakfast, make an image of Balindra, god of cattle, and place it in the cowshed with some rice and a coconut tied round its neck. The fiercest bull and heifer of the village are decorated with garlands, and are driven through the streets, followed by a crowd of boys. The boy who succeeds in snatching a garland from the bull or heifer as they rush along, is loudly applauded, and is thought to be a fit match for the best girl in the neighbourhood.[23]

A parallel to this method of bull-baiting comes from Nigeria. Here the bull's horns are not protected in any way, nor is the animal let loose, as in the Portuguese form of bull-baiting. "Two men hold a rope tied to a hind foot, and one, the catcher, holds another rope fastened to the neck or to the horns. The animal, after having been maddened by tugging at the rope, drumming and shouting, is allowed to dash about, being brought up at will by a pull on one rope or on the other. After a time the catcher begins shortening his rope, and in consequence advancing

[21] Thurston, *op. cit.* i. 160.

[22] L. K. Anantha Krishna Iyer, *Cochin Tribes and Castes*, i. 84.

[23] *Bombay Gazetteer*, xv. part i. 207.

towards the bull, care being taken that the hind rope is quite taut, so that no sudden rush can be made, and when close up the bull tries to gore, and the man is tossed exactly as in Portugal, holding on in a similar fashion till extricated. Sometimes the man will get astride the animal's neck, using the horns like parallel bars. But as the horns are not protected in these games there is always great risk." Major Tremearne,[24] who gives this account, further describes the sport in Portugal, where, when the bull charges, the catcher grasps the animal by the neck, holding on till his comrades, by distracting the attention of the beast, enable him to extricate himself.

I consulted my friend, Major Tremearne, by whose recent death in action anthropology and folklore have sustained a grievous loss, on the question whether the sport has any religious or magical significance. In the last letter which I received from him[25] he replied: "The actual bull-baiting which I saw in Northern Nigeria did not seem to have any religious significance for the on-looker. But I have little doubt that it was once part of a fertility rite. The animal is always, or, at any rate, nearly always, killed after the performance at the present day, and the bull is the proper offering for rain in Tripoli and Tunis."[26]

Further accounts from Greece and the coasts of the Eastern Mediterranean seem to indicate that a form of bull-baiting, or the seizure and carrying away of the victims, formed a preliminary of rites of sacrifice.

Thus, Pausanias tells us: "What is most worthy of note [among the Cynaethaens] is that there is a sanctuary of Dionysus here, and that they hold a festival in winter, at which men, their bodies greased with oil, pick out a bull from a herd, (whichever bull the god puts it into their minds to take), lift it up and carry it to the sanctuary.

[24] *The Tailed Head-Hunters of Nigeria*, 295 *et seqq.* (with illustrations).

[25] Dated 20th January, 1915.

[26] See *Idem*, *The Ban of the Bori*, 185 *et seqq.*

Such is their mode of sacrifice." [27] Again, "in the sanctuary [at Argos] is the throne of Danaus, and there is a statue of Biton, representing a man carrying a bull on his shoulders. According to the poet Lyceas, when the Argives were driving beasts to Nemea to sacrifice to Zeus, Biton, by reason of his vigour and strength, took up a bull and carried it." [28] Strabo [29] informs us that "a yearly festival is held at Acharaka . . . on which occasion about the hour of noon the young men from the gymnasium, stripped and anointed with oil, take up a bull and carry it with speed to the Cave; it advances a little way, falls down and dies." This may be taken to suggest that the scene depicted on the Vaphio cup and on the gems may possibly be a piece of ritual.

Some form of bull-fight, again, accompanied local cults. Thus, at the Haloa festival at Athens, "the epheboi offered bulls at Eleusis, and, it would appear, engaged in some sort of 'bull-fight,' but this must have been in honour either of Dionysos or of Poseidon, who preceded him; the *vehicle* of both these divinities was the bull." [30] From the facts already adduced it may be suggested that the custom had a wider provenance. Strabo,[31] too, tells us that in Egypt the shrine of the bull-god Apis stood beside the large and wealthy temple of Hephaistos [Ptah], in which stood a colossus made of a single block of stone. Here bulls, bred for the purpose, were pitted against each other, a prize being rewarded to the victorious bull—doubtless not a mere exhibition, but some ritual, religious or magical, connected with the local cultus.

We may return to India for some examples of cattle being scared or chased as a form of ritual.

[27] viii. 19, 2, Sir J. Frazer's trans. i. 397; Cook, *op. cit.* i. 503.

[28] *Pausanias*, ii. 19, 5; Sir J. Frazer's trans. i. 99; Cook, *op. cit.* 553, n. 1.

[29] 650; Cook, *op. cit.* i. 504.

[30] Miss J. E. Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, 147 *et seq.*

[31] 507; Cook, *op. cit.* i. 433.

The Ahirs, cattle-graziers in the Central Provinces, at the Diwali festival, go to the cattle-shed and wake up the cattle, crying: "Poraiya, god of the door, watchman of the window! Open the door, Nand Gopal is coming!" Nand, the Gopal or cattle-protecting god, was the foster-father of Krishna, himself a god who watches over cattle. Then they drive the cattle out and with branches tied to their sticks chase them as far as the grazing-ground. The meaning of this custom, says Mr. R. V. Russell,[32] who reports the rite, is obscure; but it is said to preserve the cattle from disease during the coming year. I would venture to suggest that it may be a method of stimulating their vigour, and the beating of them with the branches tied to the herdsmen's sticks may be a prophylactic rite intended to disperse evil influences. We are not told that these branches are taken from some sacred tree, but this is probably the case, because it was a Vedic custom to drive the cows from their calves by striking them with a branch of the *palasa* tree (*butea frondosa*), which is well known to possess prophylactic qualities.[33]

I have already noticed the Toda custom of chasing the sacred buffaloes intended for sacrifice at the funeral rites. But some further facts supplied by Dr. Rivers are of interest in connexion with the rites under consideration.

As soon as the herd from which the victim is to be selected appears, "the appointed men drop their cloaks and race to meet the buffaloes. The buffaloes are driven on from behind in a more vigorous manner than that to which they are accustomed, are more or less infuriated, and often rush wildly about to avoid the racing Todas, one of whom succeeds in catching the appointed animal, seizing it by the horns, and then hangs round its neck with one hand and seizes the cartilage of the nose with the other. Another of the men seizes a horn and also hangs round the

[32] *Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces*, ii. 33.
[33] *Sacred Books of the East*, xii. 183.

neck of the animal, and both men put their whole weight on the neck of the buffalo and bear it to the ground. Often they are carried many yards before they succeed in getting the infuriated animal under control, and when catching the horns they are sometimes severely gored, though this rarely happens now, and I could hear of no case in which there had been fatal consequences." [34] Again, when the second funeral ceremony "was prolonged over two days, the proceedings of the first day opened with the capture of the buffaloes, which were put in the pen, and then followed a scene in which the Todas entered the pen, flourishing heavy clubs. The animals were belaboured and driven round and round the pen, and at intervals several men would catch and hold down a buffalo. . . . On the second day the proceedings began again with a repetition of the driving and catching in the pen. In the afternoon, after the earth-throwing ceremony, the buffaloes, now wearied and subdued, were dragged from the pen and killed." [35]

Of course, it may be said that this is merely a way of reducing the semi-savage beasts to subjection, and Dr. Rivers, with characteristic caution, does not imply that the violence used had any ritualistic significance. Still, when we compare it with the cases already quoted, we may, with some probability, infer that these holy animals are not ill-treated without some good reason. We know that the animals sacrificed at the death rites are intended to accompany the spirits to Amnor or deathland.[36] Possibly

[34] *The Todas*, 350 *et seq.* [35] *Ibid.* 384.

[36] Amnor is the name used by Dr. Rivers and Lieut.-Col. Marshall to designate the spirit-land of the Todas. It may be well to state that the name seems to be based on a misunderstanding. Mr. Lewis Rice, a good authority, points out that the word is evidently the honorific plural, Ammanavaru, of Amma, Māriamma, or Māramma, the Mother goddess, and cannot mean a place, answering to heaven. Whether the misunderstanding is due to European writers, or to the Todas themselves, I cannot say (B. L. Rice, *Mysore Gazetteer*, ed. 1897, i. 456).

as in the case of cattle-driving by the Ahirs, the object may be to stimulate and strengthen them, and thus fit them to be of use in the land of spirits.

A custom of driving cattle among the Bhils of Western India presents some features of special interest. At the Diwali festival, which seems to be the appropriate time for these practices connected with cattle, the ground in front of the shed is cleaned, and a small circle is marked out with grains of rice. In this circle a lighted lamp and seven balls of cooked rice or maize are placed on leaves. A fire is set alight and some butter is thrown upon it. A man, generally the house-master, lays his hand on five chickens—seven and five being sacred numbers—throws water over them and offers them to the god Indra, saying: "O Dharma Indra! This sacrifice we offer to thee. During the coming year keep our cattle free from disease, do not afflict them with sickness, increase them, and be kindly!" At the same time a second man cuts the throats of the chickens, and a third sprinkles spirits on the ground, saying: "O Dharma Indra! We pour this liquor to thee!" Then the cattle, cows and oxen, are released from the shed, that of the headman being the first to be opened. When all the cattle are collected they are driven over the body of a Bhil, who lies at full length on the ground, with his face downwards. In consideration of his running the risk of being injured by the herd, he receives from the headman a gift of a sheet or a turban.[37]

The object of this rite is obscure, and in the account from which I have quoted the people themselves give no explanation. It possibly may represent the commutation of a human sacrifice. In a case quoted by Sir James Frazer, which Mr. Sidney Hartland has kindly examined in the original authority, a newborn child in Madagascar is placed at the entrance of a cattle shed, and the herd is driven over it to ascertain whether they will trample it or

[37] *Bombay Gazetteer*, ix. part i. 306.

not ; in other words, if it lives in spite of the cattle passing over it, its destiny (*vintana*) is considered to be overcome, and it is brought up. It is thus a form of augury to determine the fate of an individual child, and in this respect it presents no analogy to the Bhil case. This Madagascar custom may be, as Sir James Frazer suggests, a kinship test.[38] The Bishop of Madras reports a complex rite, or series of rites, intended to propitiate Peddamma, possibly a chthonic deity, who controls cholera and small-pox. At one stage of the proceedings "first a lamb is sacrificed before the goddess, and its blood is mixed with some cooked rice, and at the same time a pig is buried up to the neck in a pit at the entrance of the village, with its head projecting above the earth. The villagers go in procession to the spot, while one of the Madigas carries the rice, soaked in the blood of the lamb, in a basket. All the cattle of the village are then brought to the place and driven over the head of the unhappy pig, who is, of course, trampled to death, and, as they pass over the pig, the blood and rice are sprinkled upon them to preserve them from disease."[39] This rite, as Mr. Hartland suggests to me, is apparently intended to mollify the goddess towards the people of the village performing the sacrifice, and to induce her to transfer her wrath to the next village. There may possibly be an element of magical consecration of the village by the burial of the pig, and, as a sacrifice involves an augury, there may also be a method of ascertaining the acceptance of the sacrifice by the goddess.

Other cases of the same kind are reported from India. Mr. Thurston[40] states that in former times the Lambadis, a class of Banjara carriers and traders, before setting out on a journey, used to procure a little child, and bury it in the

[38] *Totemism and Exogamy*, i. 21, quoting Ellis, *History of Madagascar*, i. 157.

[39] *Bulletin Madras Museum*, v. No. 3, 133.

[40] *Ethnographic Notes in Southern India*, 507, quoting Rev. J. Cain, *Indian Antiquary*, 1879.

ground up to its shoulders, and then drive their leading bullocks over the unfortunate victim. In proportion as the bullocks thoroughly trampled the child to death, their belief in a successful journey increased. This seems to be a case of augury, not of human sacrifice. Lieutenant-Colonel W. E. Marshall discussed the question of infanticide with a member of the Toda tribe. The latter replied: "Those tell lies who say we laid it [the child] before the opening of the buffalo pen, so that it might be run over and killed by the animals! We never did such things! and it is all nonsense that we drowned it in buffalo's milk!" Marshall quotes an official letter addressed by the Collector of Coimbatore to the Secretary to the Government of Fort St. Geroge in 1856, in which he stated: "The mode of destroying the infant, if a female, is by exposing it the next morning [? after the birth] at the door of the cattle kraal; when first opened, the whole herd, half wild, rush over and annihilate the wretched infant—the Todas never lifting their own hand against it." [41]

This is probably the story to which the Bishop of Madras refers: "I have been told that among the Todas of the Nilgiri hills it was formerly the custom to place female children, whom it was desired to rear, on the ground at the entrance of the mand, and drive buffaloes over them. If they survived this ordeal, they were allowed to live." [42] This differs from the account quoted by Marshall, which represents it as a method of infanticide, and the Toda who repudiated the practice, described in a very matter-of-fact way how female infants were killed by closing the nostrils, ears and mouth with a cloth. Neither Dr. Rivers nor Mr. Thurston seems to corroborate the existence of the custom of killing infants by allowing them to be trampled by cattle, and it appears to be based on some misapprehension.

[41] W. E. Marshall, *A Phrenologist amongst the Todas*, 195.

[42] *Op. cit.* 137.

The Hatkars of the Central Provinces practise a rite of the same character, the purport of which is equally obscure. On the day of the Diwali festival they worship the cow, tying a piece of wool to its forehead and putting rice on it. Then they make a mud image of Govardhan, the mountain which Krishna, the cattle-god, held over his people to protect them from the rain sent by Indra, and then they let the cattle trample the image in pieces with their hoofs.[43] We may perhaps conjecture that the object is that the cattle may acquire *mana* by contact with the image of their patron god.

Another remarkable form of cattle-driving appears among the Bants, a cultivating caste in Kanara, to which reference has already been made. Every man of wealth keeps racing buffaloes, which, except for an occasional turn of ploughing at the beginning of the season, are kept for racing. The competition is between pairs of these animals, which drag a plank in succession through the mud of the rice fields. The winners are selected for pace and style, and, most important of all, for the height and breadth of the splash which they make, this being sometimes measured by an instrument like a gallows erected in the field. The indecency and devil-dancing which accompany this observance show, as I have already pointed out, that the rite is intended to promote fertility and disperse evil influence. If the rite be omitted, we are told, the local field demons are displeased and injure the crops. On the day after this ceremony the rice seedlings are transplanted.[44]

We may suspect that we have here a form of sympathetic or imitative magic. The higher the mud is splashed the better will the field be soaked in the rainy season, just as during the rainy season in the Central Provinces, boys walk through the fields on stilts : the higher they can walk

[43] Russell, *op. cit.* iii. 206.

[44] E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, i. 157 *et seqq.* (with photographs).

the heavier will be the rainfall, the more rapidly will the crops grow.[45]

In another form of the custom, the Kunbi cultivators in the Central Provinces observe the Pola or "Bull" festival in the middle of the rainy season. An old bullock goes first, heading the procession of the cattle. On his horns is tied the *makhar*, a wooden frame with pegs to which torches are fixed. They make a rope of mango-leaves stretched between two posts, and the *makhar* bullock is forced to break this and stampede back to the village, followed by the other cattle. It is said that the animal which bears the *makhar* will die within three years.[46] From this it would seem that he is regarded as a sort of scape animal, carrying with him the ill-luck of the village. But with this rite we may also compare the widespread custom of carrying torches round the fields to disperse evil, produce fertility and sunshine.[47]

At the close of a long paper it is impossible to consider the question of bull-baiting in Great Britain. The materials are extensive, and we must await the new edition of Brand's *Observations on Popular Antiquities*, now in preparation by the Society, before they become available for study.

I would only call attention to the remarks of Miss Mabel Peacock on the custom of Shrovetide football played in the bull-ring at Sedgefield, in a paper contributed to the Society in 1896, which are relevant to the present discussion. She wrote: "The connection of the game with a ring to which bulls were formerly attached for baiting is very curious. Although, as far as I am aware, the fact has never been pointed out by any one discussing the origin of

[45] R. V. Russell, *Nagpur Gazetteer*, i. 95.

[46] *Idem*, *Castes and Tribes of the Central Provinces*, iv. 40; *Ethnographic Survey Central Provinces*, part ix. 63 *et seq.*

[47] W. W. Fowler, *Roman Festivals of the Period of the Republic*, 77 *et seqq.*; Sir J. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, 3rd ed. part v. vol. i. 57 n., 297 n. 5; part vi. 316 *et seqq.*

the sport, bull-baiting seems to have sprung from a form of nature-worship. That is to say, indications which suggest its association with the cult of water are not wanting. In the Stamford bull-running, for instance, the great object was to 'bridge the bull,' which meant to tumble him by main force over the bridge which spans the Welland into the river beneath. At Tutbury, if the minstrels could succeed in cutting off a piece of the bull's skin before he crossed the river Dove into Derbyshire, he became the property of the King of Music: but if not, he was returned to the Prior of Tutbury, who had provided the festival: and according to *Notes and Queries* (5th ser. vol. xii. p. 456) the last bull-baiting in Rochdale (Lancashire) took place in 1819, when some persons were killed in consequence of the falling in of the river wall. The baiting was performed in the bed of a shallow river (the Roche) in the centre of the town."[48] We thus come back to the Catana coin to which I have referred and the theory of the water bull.

At one time the idea suggested itself to me—and I now find that the same theory occurred independently to Miss C. S. Burne—that the annual baiting of a bull in this country was connected with rites of fertility in this way. It would naturally be the desire of a cattle-breeding community that the bull, the master or lord of the herd, should possess the strongest vital power: and it may have been the custom to slay the bull at the close of the year and replace him by a more vigorous successor. We may have a survival of such a custom in the annual bull-baiting. But I have failed to find any good evidence of a custom such as this. It is possible that, by calling attention to the subject, some evidence of this kind may be forthcoming. At present it remains a suggestion and nothing more.

We may now attempt to suggest, as a working hypothesis, an explanation of the scene depicted on the Vaphio cup and the frescoes with which I began this paper. We

[48] *Folk-Lore*, vii. 346 *et seq.*: xv. 199 *et seqq.*

possibly see in them two phases of a custom which may be regarded as magical or religious, or a compound of both. The scene on the cup may represent the capture of the sacred bulls by unarmed hunters for the purpose of sacrifice. As we have seen in the case of the Todas and among certain peoples in the Eastern Mediterranean, the use of some amount of violence to such holy beasts seems to be not an uncommon prelude to their being selected as victims, the rough usage to which they are subjected being possibly intended to stimulate their energies and render them an acceptable offering to the gods or fitted to accompany the spirits of the dead to the underworld.

The next stage is the appearance of the bulls in the arena. The suggestion of Mr. Cook, to which the evidence now adduced from Nigeria and India may seem to lend some additional support is that the essential feature of the Minoan performance is the grasping of the horn or horns of the sacred animals, by which the performer, who may be the delegate of the community, obtains by contact a share of the divine power or *mana* of the holy beast.[49] We may conjecture that the bull, from his strength and virility, came to be regarded the great dispenser of *mana*, and hence he is worshipped by pastoral and agricultural tribes. Mr. Cook points out that the goat, another horned animal, was used in cults like those of the bull. We also know that contact with a sacred bull was believed to cause fertility. In the well-known case of the bull kept before the Reformation at the shrine of St. Edmund at Bury St. Edmunds, married women who desired offspring used to touch his milk-white sides and pendant dewlaps as he was led in procession through the streets of the town, and then paid their vows at the shrine of the saint.[50]

[49] *Zeus*, i. 499 *et seqq.*

[50] *County Folk-Lore, Suffolk*, 124. Mr. Sidney Hartland quotes other cases of the same kind in *Primitive Paternity*, i. 131 *et seqq.*; also see *Notes and Queries*, 1st ser. viii. 1.

The Indian custom in which a cloth or so-called "ornament" is tied to the horns of the animal, and the successful seizing of them from the head of a charging bull entitles the victorious youth to claim in marriage "the best girl in the neighbourhood," as is stated in one account of the observance, does bear a superficial resemblance to the rite of seizing the bull's horns for a magical purpose on which Mr. Cook lays stress. But, as far as I can judge, from the evidence there is nothing to show that the cloth or "ornament" is anything more than the ordinary prize of victory. The successful grasping of the garlands tied to the animal in another Indian case has probably the same meaning. I cannot see that there is anything magical or religious about the transaction, save that in some of the Indian cases the time selected for these exhibitions and other circumstances connected with them do seem to indicate that they are in some way connected with a fertility rite. It may also be observed that the seizure of the horns of the animal need not bear any special esoteric significance. An acrobat bounding over a bull's back in a circus would naturally try to support himself or secure his escape from the animal as it charges by grasping the horns: he would seize the horns, to use Major Tremearne's phrase, as a boy in the gymnasium seizes the parallel bars.

It has also been suggested that in the Spanish bull-fight, particularly in the killing of the horses, some magical or religious idea underlies the observances. The only theory of this kind which I have noticed is that of Richard Ford, who has given one of the best accounts of these exhibitions.[51] He writes: "Our boxing, baiting term bull-*fight*, is a very lay and low translation of the time-honoured Castilian title, *Fiestas de Toros*, the feasts, festivals of bulls. The gods and goddesses of antiquity were conciliated by the sacrifice of hecatombs: the lowing tickled their divine ears, and the purple blood fed their eyes, no less than the

[51] *Gatherings from Spain*, Everyman's Library, p. 310 *et seq.*

roasted sirloins fattened the priests, while the grand spectacle and death delighted their dinnerless congregations . . . So at the *taurobolia* of antiquity, those who were sprinkled with bull blood were absolved from sin." It would be interesting to connect the *taurobolia* with the modern bull-fight, but I am not aware that the connexion has been established by historical evidence.

This is not the time to attempt a full discussion of the interesting suggestion of Mr. Cook. We must first be certain that the scene on the Vaphio cup and the Tiryns and Knossos frescoes do represent a religious or magical performance, and not merely an incident of sport or an acrobatic exhibition. All we can say with any degree of certainty is that in India and in Nigeria bull-baiting and bull-driving are possibly connected with rites of fertility. In, I think, the last paper which he read before our Society,[52] Mr. Andrew Lang successfully disposed of the popular belief that boys and girls were sent from Athens to Crete to be devoured by a Bull-god, and he pointed out that the legend was probably a reminiscence of the sports in the arena at Knossos, such as that represented on the frescoes. It would be satisfactory to believe, with Mr. Cook, that they were used for the pleasant object of drawing *mana* from the sacred bulls. But is this not too good to be true?

The discussion supplies a good illustration of the difficulties and dangers which a science like folklore is obliged to encounter. We are charged—and the accusation is often only too true—with being immersed in the quest of survivals. As Professor Gilbert Murray writes, we "search antiquity eagerly for traces of primitive man, for totems, cannibalism, human sacrifice, and the like. The traces which they discover are of the greatest value. But I think that they have often mistaken the reverberation of an extinct barbarity for the actual barbarity itself." [53]

[52] *Folk-Lore*, xxi. (1910) 132 *et seqq.*

[53] *The Rise of the Greek Epic*, 10 *et seq.*

Again, we are charged with adopting unscientific methods by comparing, for the purpose of explaining difficulties, facts drawn from un-related cultures. This criticism may be fairly urged against my attempt to quote facts from India and Nigeria to interpret a custom or ritual in the Hellenic or Aegean societies. At the same time, an advancing science like ours must always be starting hares, always suggesting new interpretations. If such suggestions prove to be of no scientific value beyond attracting attention to a problem and encouraging further research and the collection of new material, they may serve some useful purpose.

W. Crooke.

CLASSIFIED CATALOGUE OF BRAND MATERIAL.

(*Continued from* p. 86.)

LORD MAYOR'S DAY.

NOVEMBER 9TH.

ENGLAND.

	LOCALITY.
"Lord Mayor's Show." State Procession to Westminster	City of London.
Mayor taken home with band and fireworks	Glastonbury.
Whole population drink out of "golden cup" (silver-gilt), kept by the Mayor	Cornwall (St. Ives).
Mayor, Corporation, and officials drink out of silver cup on first Sunday Mayor attends church	Cornwall (Penryn).
"Clouting-out day" (schoolmasters barred-out, children demand coppers, fruit, etc.)	Staffs. (Newcastle-under-Lyme).
Mock Mayor elected	Devon (Bideford). Berks. (Newbury). Glos. (Paganhill). *Modern.*
Guy Fawkes celebration held	Eastbourne.
Sprat-fishing begins	Sussex.

ST. MARTIN'S DAY.

NOVEMBER 11TH.

St. Martin, Bishop of Tours, died A.D. 356. Patron of soldiers and of beggars.

ENGLAND.

I. NAMES.	LOCALITY.
Martinmas	General.
Martlemas	Lincs., Notts., N. Country.
"Pack-rag Day," 12th November,	Whitby.

II. Natural Phenomena.	Locality.
(*a*) *Weather Omens.*	
Wind on Martinmas *Eve* will last till Christmas	Notts., Northants.
Bright sunset, hard winter, and *vice versa*	Suffolk.
Martinmas to Christmas, "water's worth wine"	North Country.
If ice bear a duck before Martlemas, it will not bear a goose after	Northants., Leic., Staffs.

III. Observances.	
(*a*) Love Divination practised. Sowing Hempseed (on Eve ?)	Norfolk.
(*b*) Roast goose eaten (Sunday in holiday called Rive-kite Sunday)	East Riding.
Pig's cheek and parsnips (village Feast)	Glos. (Bisley).
(*c*) Waits, wassailers, and Plough Lads begin their rounds	Yorkshire.

IV. Special Local Observances.	
Sheriff's Ride and subsequent Dinner	York.
Millers' Holiday (cf. Ireland, "Prohibitions")	Totnes.
Village Feast, formerly Fair. Publicans kept open house	Glos. (Bisley).
Holiday week for servants, mumming, dressing up "guys," processions, begging contributions, dancing	North Yorks. (Thoralby).
Church Service (anniversary erection of chapel), followed by dinner at Bull Inn. Guns fired	Bucks. (Fenny Stratford).
Marrowbones claimed from butchers, ale tasted	Cornwall (Camborne).
Bull-running, Nov. 13th, St. Brice's Day, "the day six weeks before Christmas"	Stamford.

V. Business Transactions.	Locality.
Slaughtering Cattle for winter provision, called *Mart* (1777) in - -	Northumberland.
Ditto, called *Mairt* in - - -	Cumberland.
Hiring Servants for year or half-year. In November - -	(Hiring Fairs.) [1]
	Northumberland (Alnwick, Hexham, Morpeth).
	Cumberland (Carlisle, Keswick, Maryport).
	Westmoreland (Kendal).
	Durham (Bishop Auckland, Durham, Darlington).
	Yorks. (Northallerton ?, Stokesley ?, Whitby, Beverley, Brandsburton, Hedon, Hornsea, Patrington, Pocklington, Doncaster, Leeds, Rotherham, Ripon).
	Isle of Axholme (half-yearly).
	Notts. (Bingham, Nottingham).
	Derby (Alfreton, Belper, Wirksworth).
	Cheshire (Macclesfield).
	Staffs. (Leek).
	Leic. (Melton Mowbray ?).
	Warw. (Rugby).
	Northants. (Northampton).[1]
Rents and Dues Paid.	
Church-scot, a hearth-tax due at Christmas, paid in corn in the parish church the next Martinmas - - - - -	Laws of King Ina.
Cocks and hens paid as church-shot, 14th century - -	Hants. (Hurstbourne Priors).
"Wroth-silver" paid by inhabitants of Knightlow Manor, supposed due for passage of cattle across lord's waste -	Warw. (Knightlow).

[1] So far as known at present.

Common Rights entered upon.	LOCALITY.
Overseers of common lands appointed (following Sunday), who must provide a town bull	Isle of Ely (Whittlesea).
Common of pasture re-opened (closed, Michaelmas) - -	Epping Forest (Havering at-the-Bower).
Right of lopping wood began at midnight on Eve (bonfire and beer) - - - - - -	Epping Forest (Loughton).

WALES.

I. NAME. ?

II. NATURAL PHENOMENA.

Falling stars forebode trouble to Wales - - - - - -	South Wales.
Owls hooting forebode evil to the village - - - - - -	*Ibid.*
Geese standing on ice forebode mire at Christmas - - - - -	*Ibid.*
Weather foretold by the bladebone of a sheep or pig, or the merry-thought of a bird - - - -	*Ibid.*

III. LOCAL CUSTOMS.

Hiring Fair ; bonfire on Eve -	Carnarvonsh. (Nevin).
Wheat must be sown before Llanmadoc Mabsant, West Gower,[1] (dedication festival, St. Madog, 12th Nov.).	Pembrokeshire (Llanmadoc).

SCOTLAND.

BUSINESS TRANSACTIONS.

Term-time for both situations and tenancies - - - - - -	General.
" Feeing " or hiring fairs - -	Dumfries (Martinmas Wednesday), etc., etc.
" Foy," the ploughman's farewell supper - - - - - -	Fife.

[1] If sown later, it will lie in the ground forty days before it begins to spring. Pie of chopped mutton and currants eaten.

	LOCALITY.
Slaughtering-time for cattle (obs.). Proverb : " His Martinmas will come, as it comes to every hog."	
Annual allowance paid to parish poor (1793) - - - -	Perthsh. (Caputh).

IRELAND.

St. Martin's Eve, November 10th.

I. Name. Feile Máirtín. LOCALITY.

II. Obligatory Observances.

Blood must be spilt—some animal, usually a cock, is killed - -	Wexford.
Animal previously ailing, dedicated to St. Martin, to be killed on St. Martin's Eve on recovery [1] -	Co. Mayo.
Blood is sprinkled on the threshold	Co. Roscommon.

St. Martin's Day, November 11th.

I. Name. Lá féile Máirtin. LOCALITY.

II. Obligatory Observances.

(*a*) *Things Prohibited.*

No boat must go out - -	Wexford, West Coast.
No mill must grind corn -	Western Islands, Wexford.
No spinning wheel must turn	Western Islands, Wexford.
No wheel must turn - -	Western Islands.
No blood must be spilt on November 11th - -	Co. Mayo.

(*b*) *Things Enjoined.*

Blood must be spilt—animal, usually a cock, killed -	Co. Clare.
Animal previously ailing dedicated to St. Martin on recovery to be killed at Martinmas - - -	Co. Roscommon (Athlone). Co. Leitrim. Arran Isles.

[1] See *Prohibitions*, St. Martin's Day.

	LOCALITY.
Finger cut if no animal sacrificed - - - - -	Arran Isles.
Blood sprinkled on threshold, etc. - - - - -	Co. Leitrim, Western Ireland generally. Arran Isles.
Cross marked in blood on arm of each member of the family. (People "signed" with blood safe from disease for that year.) - - -	Locality ?
There should always be meat in the house - - -	Co. Wexford.
Family eat sacrificed animal, portion of animal to be given to first beggar -	*Ibid.*

III. Local Observance.

Pattern and fair held at Tintern -	Co. Wexford.

IV. Current Legends.

St. Martin appeared to warn inhabitants not to go out to sea -	Co. Wexford.
The saint was fed by a widow who sacrificed her child to provide meat for the meal. - - -	Arran Isles.

ST. HUGH OF LINCOLN, 1186-1200. } November 17th.
Accession of Queen Elizabeth, 1558. }

	LOCALITY.
Kept as a holiday, 1824, at - - -	The Temple. The Exchequer. Westminster School. St. Paul's School.

ST. EDMUND THE KING, 841-870.

(*Name-father of Bury St. Edmund's*), November 20th.

	LOCALITY.
Name. "Dead Man's Day" [1] - -	England. Scotland. Ireland.
Business. Date of bean-sowing, if the moon be waning - - - - -	Tusser.

[1] ? Authority.

ST. CECILIA'S DAY.

NOVEMBER 22ND.

St. Cecilia, V.M., of Rome, A.D. 223. Patroness of Musicians.

LOCAL OBSERVANCE.	LOCALITY.
Musical Festivals held, 1683 and onwards	London. Edinburgh. Dublin.

Revived at St. Paul's, 1875.

ST. CLEMENT'S DAY, A.D. 91.

NOVEMBER 23RD.

St. Clement, Bishop of Rome and Martyr, A.D. 91. Patron of Smiths, especially Anchor-smiths.[1]

ENGLAND.

I. NATURAL PHENOMENA.	LOCALITY.
Wind at midnight foretells prevailing wind till Candlemas	Worc. (Shipston-on-Stour, etc.).

II. OBSERVANCES.

(*a*) *Blacksmiths' Festival.*	
Dockyard apprentice personating "Old Clem" chaired round town with costumed procession	Chatham, Woolwich.
Figure "Old Clem" set up over door	Sussex (Burwash).
Legends narrated at "Clem Feast"	Brighton. Hants. (Twyford).
Anvils "fired"	Sussex. Hants (Hursley).
Masters provide dinner, stuffed pork	London. Woolwich. Brighton. Bristol. Liverpool.
Special songs and toasts	*Ibid.*

[1] His legend says he was martyred by being tied to an anchor and drowned.

	LOCALITY.
(*b*) *Legends current.*	
Blacksmiths, as tool-makers, admitted to share feast at erection of Solomon's Temple, if dirt washed off -	Twyford.
Blacksmiths adjudged by King Alfred "the first of trades," because tool-makers to all others; tailors jealous - - -	Sussex (Steyning).
"Old Clem" was the first man to shoe a horse -	London.
(*c*) *Begging Customs.*	
Children and young man beg for ale and apples with rhymes.[1] See St. Katharine's Day.	
Called Clemmening - -	Sussex and South Staffs.
Called Clemancing - -	Warwicksh.
Called Gooding - - -	Leic. (Bosworth). Rutland.
(*d*) *Amusements.*	
Catching apples with teeth, hence called Bite-apple Day (cf. Hallowmas) -	South Staffs.
III. Business Transactions.	
Municipal accounts settled. Apples scrambled for by crowd - -	Walsall.
Episcopal rents due - - -	Durham.
Sheep-fair attended by farmers. "Clementy Cakes" on sale -	Bucks. (Lambourne).

WALES.

Observance.	
Effigy of carpenter tied to church steeple on Eve, paraded round village on Day with rhyme bequeathing garments to local carpenters, stripped and picked to pieces by crowd - - - -	Pembrokeshire. (Locality not stated.)

[1] Typical rhyme—

"Clemeny, Clemeny, year by year,
Some of your apples and some of your beer" (etc.).

ST. KATHARINE'S DAY.

NOVEMBER 25TH.

St. Katharine of Alexandria, V.M., A.D. 307. Regarded as a personification of the Church. Patroness of women, especially of unmarried women, and of spinning.

	LOCALITY.
Represented as patroness of the Barbers' Company in Corpus Christi Pageant, 1685-1860; of the Flax-dressers, 1861-1878. *Ibid.* (*Shr. F.L.* p. 456) -	Shrewsbury.

ENGLAND.

I. NAME.

Catten's Day - - - -	Bucks. (Wendover).

II. LOCAL OBSERVANCES.

(*a*) *Holidays.*

Mayor and Corporation attended church, drank together and with players. Special plays performed, 1479 - - - -	Bristol.
Lacemakers' holiday. Girls dressed in men's clothes, called at houses, refreshed with "wiggs" (carraway buns) and "hot-pot" (egg-flip). Catherine wheels let off. Women jumped over candlestick for luck (19th cent.) - - - -	Bucks. (Wendover, etc.).
"Keeping Kattern" - -	Herts. (Wigginton).

(*b*) *Processions.*

Children's procession with lights and image, round St. Paul's - - -	London (1553, 1556).
Workhouse girls (spinners), headed by a "Queen," paraded city, singing. Contributions asked. Disused 1834 - - - -	Peterborough.

	LOCALITY.
Ropemakers paraded town, carrying a "Queen" Catherine in a chair of state	Chatham, Rochester, and Brompton.
(*c*) *Begging Customs.*	
Children traverse the country begging for ale and apples; with special rhyme - -	Sussex.
Called Catterning - -	*Ibid.*
Adults of both sexes also (cf. Hallowmas. Souling) [1] -	South Staffs. North Worc.
Called Cattening, Catterning, Cattaring, Catherning	*Ibid.*
(*d*) *Pilgrimages, etc.*	
Girls visit St. Katharine's well and chapel; invoke her to send them husbands	Dorset (St. K.'s chapel, Melton Abbey).
Fair held beside St. Katharine's well and chapel -	Eskdale.
(*e*) *Legends.*	
"Queen Katharine burnt her old lace to encourage trade"	Bucks.
Queen Katharine was lost in a fog and found on St. Katharine's Day, the bells were rung in rejoicing -	Bucks. (Ellesborough).
"One of Henry VIII.'s wives instituted the procession"	Peterborough.
"Queen Katharine founded the rope-walk" - -	Chatham.
III. Business Transactions.	
Cathedral Chapter Rent Audit concluded, mulled wine distributed to tenants, 1848 - - -	Worcester.

[1] Typical rhyme—

"Cattern and Clement be here, be here,
Some of your apples and some of your beer,
An apple, a pear, a plum or a cherry,
Or any good thing to make us merry."

	LOCALITY.
Ecclesiastical (Guild) accounts settled, 1449 *et sqq.*	South Staffs. (Walsall).
Dean and Chapter purchased new spinning-wheels for workhouse poor	Peterborough.
Kept as high festival with many lights ; *query* if dues paid ?	Halesowen Abbey.[1]
Christmas bell-ringing begun	Bucks. (Ellesborough).

IRELAND.

OBSERVANCE.

" Women and girls fast ; the girls to get husbands, the women to get better ones "	Reference ?

MAN.

I. OBSERVANCE.

	LOCALITY.
Fair held, Dec. 6th (Nov. 24th, O.S.), hen killed, carried through fair with dirge, as in funeral procession, " wake " held over her. Ale drunk at public house. Next day, mourners went to the public-house to " peel " (pluck) the hen. Head and feet cut off and buried. More drink. Saying about a man not sober after the fair. " Oh, he has been to peel the hen "	Colby.

II. LEGENDS.

Formerly all quarrels were made up this day ; each party plucked and buried a few feathers in token of covenant.

Fair founded beside St. Katharine's Church, and ceremony instituted by Katharine, spinster heiress of Colby Mooar, to preserve her memory.

Healing Well on fair-ground, another, same ded. at Port Erin.

[1] Premonstratensian house. Legally in Salop, locally in Worcestershire.

ST. ANDREW'S DAY.

NOVEMBER 30TH.

St. Andrew, Apostle and Martyr. Patron of Scotland, Rochester Cathedral, and the monastery at Rome of which St. Augustine of Canterbury had been Abbot. Also of lacemakers (but *cf.* St. Katharine).

ENGLAND.

	LOCALITY.
I. NAMES.	
"Tandering Day."—"Tander." Kept by O.S. - - - -	Northants.
"St. Andrew the King" (why?)	
"Three weeks and three days before Christmas comes in."	East Anglia.
II. NATURAL PHENOMENA.	
If a glass filled with water on St. Andrew's Eve, overflow before morning, it portends a wet year; if not, a dry one - - - -	(Qy. authority and locality ?)
Lilies of the valley said to grow wild near St. Andrew's Churches.	
III. OBSERVANCES.	
(*a*) *T'andrew Bell rung* at noon. Toffee made and eaten - - -	Northants. (Bozeat). Lincs. (Kirton-in-Lindsey).
(*b*) *Lacemakers' Holiday*. Masquerades, men and women change clothes. Tandry cakes and mulled elder wine provided. Christmas mummers begin to perform - -	Northants.
(*c*) *Barring out.*	
Lacemakers' apprentices bar out mistress, and ask "pardon for a pin" - -	Northants. (Spratton).
Boys bar out master; holidays for next year agreed on; contributions levied for sweets and biscuits - -	Northumberland (Alnwick and district, Up'r Coquetdale).
Scholars locked master out of belfry and jangled bells -	Leic. (Hallaton).

	LOCALITY.
(*d*) *Squirrel-hunting* - - - -	Kent (Eastling).
Called S'Andring - - -	Sussex (Newick, etc.).
(*e*) *Dole.* 12 strikes muncorn distributed (Eve), called Pardon Bread or St. Andrew's Dole, temp. Eliz. - - - -	Salop (Shifnal—St. Andrew's Church).
(*f*) *Fairs.*	
Dead Man's Fair - - -	Salop (Church Stretton).
Fair SS. Andrew and Oswald -	Worc. (Bewdley).
Feast (fair up to 1817). Sports, dancing, open house, gammon-pie eaten - -	Devon (Moreton Hampstead—St. Andrew's Church).

SCOTLAND.

I. NAME. Andermas.

II. OBSERVANCE.

Little noticed. Viands, sheep's head.	
Man cautioned by Kirk Session for being drunk on St. Andrew's Day, 1649 - - - - -	St. Andrews.

III. PLACE-NAMES.

Kirk-andrew (Co. Kirkcudbright).
Kirk-andrew on Esk } both in Debateable Land, now in
Kirk-andrew on Eden } Cumberland.

IV. FAIR.

Neglected, revived by Town Council, 1632 - - - - - -	Peebles.

IRELAND.

PHENOMENA.

Last night of Dance of the Dead. Specially dangerous to be abroad.

COLLECTANEA.

Olympos.

So far as I am aware no one seems to have any clear notion of the language to which the place name Olympos belongs. Nor does any clue to its meaning seem to have been discovered. It is not Greek. Professor Murray, in *The Rise of the Greek Epic*, says, "Names like Larisa, Corinthos, Zakynthos, Hyakinthos, Olympos . . . are no more Greek than Connecticut and Poughkeepsie and Alabama are English." What, then, is the language to which it can be affiliated? A. Fick pronounces it to be Phrygian, which may be to contradict Professor Murray, though little is known of that ancient tongue. Some words belonging to it are to be found in Hesychius, and it apparently belonged to the same group as Greek. Plato says the Phrygian words for "dog" and "fire" were the same as Greek. From inscriptions it may be deduced that this was the case with "king" and "mother." On the other hand, it is said that ἄναξ is peculiarly Phrygian, not Greek at all. *Γανακτει* is found on the tomb of Midas. Probably Fick is wrong, and I hope to show reason for thinking so. Olympos has also been said to be Pelasgian. What is Pelasgian? To say this is to say it was Pre-Hellenic and little more. Is there any element in the word and its relation to Greek and other religions and to Zeus worship which gives a hint as to its origin? I venture to suggest tentatively that there is. May it not be Semitic, and, if so, does it not recall the god El, and the Elohim of the first verse of Genesis, *i.e.* "The High One" or "The High Ones"? The usual theological contention that Elohim is a singular and equal to "God" is, of course, absurd. Nothing in late Hebrew usage as to its being employed as a honorific plural or "plural of

majesty" can be held to be relevant. The formal expurgation of all references to the "Gods" of the early Semites would render such an explanation necessary. But outside of orthodox circles Jahweh is recognised as a tribal god, and only one of a number of similar deities. No doubt the Elohistic tradition to begin with took in all the powers and only later compressed them. So far as I am aware the use of the honorific plural is not common among Semitic races. To say so is purely a theological gloss. I see it is stated in *The Book of Genesis* (S. R. Driver, 1909) that the idea originally expressed by the word Eloah (single of Elohim), *i.e.* its root meaning, is unknown. But the writer adds that El, the usual term for God in Assyrian, etc., is equally obscure as to its significance. From what I have heard I doubt if all Semitic scholars would agree with him.

The Semitic gods certainly seem to have been dwellers on the heights, which suggests their devotees were not plain dwellers, or that they had mountains in sight. I know nothing of the Semitic tongues; but the root El or Al, according to my friend, Mr. Max Montesole, is probably a triliteral root *Alh*, in which the "A" or *Aleph* is a consonantal guttural, practically unpronounceable except as a vowel by non-Semites. This root means "high," and was referred gradually to those who dwelt in high places, such as the gods. So we get the Semitic high places of worship. The modern Greek for Olympos is Elymbo, which seems rather more like Elohim than the old form. According to Mr. A. B. Cook's *Zeus*, St. Elias of the Catholic hagiology has displaced Zeus in most of his hill-seats called Olympos. Perhaps this is because of the *El* portion of the name. But St. Elias is still Zeus. He is a hill-top saint of great power; a thunder and fine weather wielder: in fact, a Catholic Sky-god and also a Sun-god. He endues Jove's mantle, as the Virgin took over the robes of departed Virgin and mother goddesses. In Kilikia there was Olymbros, a deity identified with Zeus, and in the same country is found the ancient seat of Zeus Olbios in Uzundja-Burdj or "Tall Castle," which is a hill 3500 feet high. If I am right in suggesting an early Semitic origin for Ol, El, or other variations of the root with vowels for the initial and final consonantal gutturals of the true triliteral form, we may here note that the nature of the

vocalic sign seems to matter little. It is easily changed, as we see from later Semitic script when vowels were marked, as in Erech (Hebrew) for Uruk (? Assyrian).

The habit of mountain races, who always feared the higher summits, of placing demons and gods there is practically universal and easily explicable. How else could falling stones and avalanches be accounted for? When the gods passed they were inhabited by dragons. The curious may consult *The Early Mountaineers* (Francis Gribble, 1899) for accounts of such and the views of Johann Jacob Scheuchzer, a professor at Zurich at the end of the seventeenth century. Probably the terror of great heights is partially due to these superstitions. Early orography is full of such myths. We may compare the Pico de Teide, the Peak of Tenerife. The mountain was terrible and holy, or devilish, a place for "High Ones." Mr. A. B. Cook states that in the panegyric of Zeus attributed to Minos the god is called "The High and Holy One." It may be taken for granted, on the principles of Semantics, that "high" in the religious sense was once used literally. Its value has been slowly enhanced, just as "Divine Right" is now interpreted to mean by divine appointment or decree, although it seems obviously the last survival of the view that Kings were really Gods. In *Zeus* I also find it remarked that Enlil or Ellil, the Sumerian god of Nippur, is sometimes actually addressed as "The Great Mountain." His temple was E-Kur, which means "the mountain house." His consort Nin-lil was described as Nin-Khar-Sag, *i.e.* Lady of the High Mountain.

Driver notes that Sargon and Assurbanipal speak of Bel and Asshur as *shadu rabu*, "the great mountain." Some think this is the origin of the Hebrew *Shaddai*. The real meaning of this is far more interesting, but the subject cannot be entered on here.

I put these suggestions forward merely for the purpose of stimulating discussion. As views of my own I am only too well aware they cannot carry weight. But the subject of these non-Hellenic names is certainly of great interest, and might well be inquired into by some one of linguistic authority.

MORLEY ROBERTS.

A Study in the Legends of the Connacht Coast, Ireland.

The Gods and the Earliest Heroes.

The following notes continue the collection published in these pages in 1916 : [1]

Of the same cycle of legends—that of the Red Branch Heroes—is the legend of the sons of Umor. The tribe seems actually (from the collections of Duald MacFirbis) to have been a large and important one, settled at more than one point of the coasts of Erris. The legend, however, reaches us in a Munster version, by MacLiac, bard to King Brian Boruma, who wrote about A.D. 1000, and suggests a change of locality from the older form. Being well known, I will give it very briefly. A small fugitive tribe of the Firbolg came from the Scottish Islands to Leinster and, under the security of certain of the Red Branch heroes, notably Cuchullin and Conall Cearnach, were settled at nine raths (earth forts) in the Boyne valley under an exhorbitant rent. They fled to the court of Queen Medbh, who gave them settlements on the skirts of her province—Mod at the Islands of Mod in Clew Bay (Moidhlinn, in the Tain bo Flidhais), Aigle, of Cruach Aigle or Croaghpatrick near the last ; Oengus, at Dun Oengusa, in Aran ; Conchiurn, at the same islands, in Inis Medhoin (Inismaan) ; Daelach, on the Dael ; Mil, at Murbech ; Ennach, at Tech n Ennach ; Taman, at Rind Tamain (or Tawin Point), at the end of Galway Bay, and others (as I have already noted) in Co. Clare.[2] Now in view of the location of the Clann Umoir and Resent Umoir in the prose records, I incline to believe that the places in most instances lay in North Mayo, not round Galway Bay. Taman may represent a settlement at Tawinloch, Clare Island (Cliara) ; Dael, the Dael River at Crosmolina and Murbech, Tra Murbhaig strand, near Killala. The Munster legend prevailed and the names survived in Aran, where we have only O'Donovan's statement, based on a single visit, that the name of Oengus

[1] Vol. xxvii. pp. 99, 225.

[2] "Rennes Dind Senchas," *Revue Celtique*, vol. xv. p. 478 ; *Journal Roy. Soc. Antt. Ir.* vol. xliii. p. 507.

was only remembered by one old man of Cromwellian descent at Dun Innees (or Dun Aengusa), for others found the name in various forms, evidently archaic, and not merely derived from O'Flaherty's works (1687), in the period of O'Donovan's Letters as Dun Unguish, or Dun Ungust, and Dun Eanees.[1] Dun -Croohoor, -Conor, or, as O'Flaherty writes: "Conquovar," was attributed to Conchobhair na Siudaine (O'Brien, King of Thomond), who was slain 1267; the old name, as we saw, was *Conchiurn*. The theory that the Clann Umoir were "gods of darkness," routed by the "solar gods" of Tara, is unconvincing in the abuse of solar theories in the last century.

We have seen that Rev. Caesar Otway placed Domnall Duailbuidhe among the Tuatha De, not (as the Tain bo Flidhais shows) among the mortals of the Gamanraighe. He calls Dun Domhnall (which in the *Annals*, under 1386, is *Dún Domhnainn*, connected with another human family, the Fir Domnann of Iorris, or Erris) "a doon of the Tuatha De Dannann," but (as we saw) he was most uncritical. It is, however, certain that at a rather similar fortified knoll in Co. Clare, Croaghateeaun (*Cruach an t sidaun*, the humped Hill of the fairies or "fairy blast"), we were told to cross ourselves on entering the fort "because of the Dannanns"[2] so perhaps Otway after all had other reasons for the statement than his mere theory.

Chief among the gods remembered in north-west Connacht is Mananánn macLir, the sea god. Roderic O'Flaherty identified him with Orbsen, from whom Loch Oirbsen, or Loch Corrib, the great lake behind Galway city, is named.[3] Larminie gives a tale from one P. M'Grale, in Achill, where much is told of Mananánn, King of Erin,[4] as "a king of druidism and enchantments and devils-craft" and "the best man of druidism to be found." Kaytuch, son of King Keeluch, and Londu, son of the King of Loch Gur (a well-known fairy lake in Co. Limerick

[1] S. Ferguson, *Dublin Univer. Magazine* (1853), vol. xli. p. 95; Haverty's *Guide for the British Assoc.* (1858).

[2] *Folk-Lore*, vol. xxi. p. 343; vol. xxiv. p. 97.

[3] *A Chorographical Description of West or Hiar Connaught* (ed. James Hardiman, 1846), p. 55.

[4] *Irish Folk-Tales* (1893), p. 1.

and a centre of legendary druidism according to those who with no evidence choose to regard remotely prehistoric circles as druidic temples) go to study druidism with him. It will be remembered that the "whole fleet" of the Danaan at Croaghateeaun came from the seaward side, up Croaghateeaun.[1] The Achill story has curious and archaic features, but how far these were true folktales and how far booklore I am not in a position to determine.

The sea-god Lir (divested of his divinity) figures in Mayo legend as the father of the Swan children; a fruitful subject for a paper by itself; this tale calls for a student. The swans are remembered from Portacloy to Inisglora. They were three boys and a girl, children of a king, and turned to swans by their cruel stepmother. She compelled them to haunt the roughest "streams" (*i.e.* tideways), chief of which is the tide-race called Straffoda-con, running up the east creek of Broadhaven, between the promontory forts of Dookeeghan (Dumhach Ui Caochain) and Duncarton (Dun Certain or Dunkirtaan). Her power ceased on Sunday, when, as we saw, the hapless birds sat on the church of Inisglora till delivered by the saint. When a sinful hand touched them they fell to dust. The swan song of the dying princess is preserved. Other legends told of them resting in the cliff forts of Dun Fiachrach and Dunminulla.[2] If, indeed, the word *eala* (swan) be a component of the last name, as Scales' map (1776) and Bald's map (1813) with "Dunvinalla" suggest, we have an allusion to the enchanted birds, but I never heard any local person from Downpatrick to Belmullet name the huge fort platform anything but *Dunminulla*, as also Otway and his friend Henri name it. Otway tells us of yet a fifth site which he calls "Tholler na Amloodheer." Here a man came from the east and fought on behalf of the royal birds in a field near Shaen Lodge close to Belmullet.[3]

[1] *Folk-Lore*, vol. xiv. pp. 97-98; see also vol. xxi. p. 198, and vol. ii. *Silva Gadelica*, pp. 123-6.

[2] Described in *Journal Roy. Soc. Antt. Ir.* vol. xlii, p. 124, p. 197. Fiachra was one of the sons.

[3] *Erris and Tyrawly*, pp. 95-97, and Dr. Charles Browne, *Proc. R.I. Acad.* vol. iii. (ser. iii.), p. 641.

Finn and the Giants.

Closely connected with the Finn legends is that of the *Glas gaibhneach* cow, with it long ancestral line of myths and kindred tales of many lands and ages. As at Torry Island and elsewhere, the cow is even more closely connected in Donegal and Mayo with the far more archaic legends of the demon-god "Balor of the baleful eye." W. Larminie[1] gives John MacGinty's version from Achill. It begins with a tale of the "Strasburg Clock" or "Prentice Pillar" type. The master mason, Gobán Saor and his son build a palace for Balor Beimann and the latter removes the scaffold to leave them to die of starvation lest they should build as good a house for someone else. A girl reminds them that it is easier to throw down seven stones than to put up one, and Balor, seeing the impending ruin of his palace, hastened to let them down. An exactly similar story is told at some of our round towers and castles. To continue, the second part of the tale shows Balor questioning his victims as to the best smith to do the iron-work, Gobán replies "the Gavidjeen Go." The latter artificer would want for payment the celebrated *gloss* (cow) which can fill twenty barrels with milk. Balor gave her without her halter and the Gavidjeen Go used to agree with every champion who came to buy a sword that the purchaser should tend the cow for a day, for she used to graze at Cruachawn of Connaught and drink in the evening at Ulster. Kian was one of the applicants, and was warned that if he did not bring back the *gloss* in safety he should lay his head on the anvil and be beheaded with his own sword. Kian took the cow by the tail when he was called to hold the sword, and letting her go she ran away. The smith demanded the penalty and Kian asked for a respite of three days to recover her. Kian coming to the sea got the use of a *curach* (skin canoe from Mananann, and after many adventures over sea got the cow's halter from Balor's daughter and, despite the giant's attempt to slay him, recovered the cow. The story may be profitably compared with the tale of Balor, Kinealy and the

[1] *Irish Folk-Tales* (1893), p. 1.

glas at Torry Island,[1] and the smith Lon, Caeilte and the *glas* on Glasgeivnagh Hill, Co. Clare,[2] besides other variants in Kerry and elsewhere.

This tale belongs rather doubtfully to the Finn cycle; to turn to the undoubted tales of the hero we find that at Downpatrick Head he, like his son Oisin in the poems, is made a contemporary of St. Patrick. A curious variant of the Geodruisge legend (where a stone or spear is hurled at the saint in hostility) makes Finn so anxious to help the saint in building the little oratory that he hurled a granite boulder for its material, which fell short and used to be pointed out in Ballyglen when Otway visited the place.[3] In 1839 Finn's adventures were told by the professional story-tellers in North Mayo; the name "Seefin" attached to more than one lofty summit which the hero used as a seat. Finn's rival in love, Diarmait, and the faithless wife, Grainne, were (and are) remembered at various prehistoric monuments, not dolmens, as elsewhere, but rings of stones, as at those in Ballyglas (Tirawley) and Glengad (Erris, near Duncarton), though I suspect the one at the last to be modern derived from some book. I did not hear the lovers' names at the dolmens of Achill and Murrisk. At the dolmen in Glengad, however, "Darby" was a great giant who left the marks of his fingers on the cover of "Darby and Grania's bed," but the legend of the lovers seemed forgotten. Gal mac Morni was one of the numerous reputed builders of Doona Castle

Lady Wilde [4] notes a legend near Killeries. Finn and Oscar came to Lisnakeeran fort and here its owner entertained them, but, when they tried to get up after dinner, their followers were stuck to the benches. Finn and Oscar being suspicious at not being offered chairs were left free. Finn then bit his prophetic thumb and saw a hideous warrior riding towards the fort. Knowing that all was lost if the warrior crossed a certain

[1] *Ulster Journal of Archæology* (Edmund Getty, 1845), vol. i. 1853, pp. 140 *sqq.* Abstracted in *Roy. Soc. Antt. Handbook*, No. vi. p. 2.

[2] See *Folk-Lore*, vol. xxiii. p. 89, and xxiv. p. 100.

[3] *Erris and Tyrawly*, p. 259.

[4] *Ancient Legends* (1887), vol. i. p. 158.

ford Oscar ran to meet him, and, after a fierce fight, cut off his head. He sprinkled the blood over each of his warriors save one, and they were at once free. The last, however, had to be pulled off, tearing off all his skin, to replace which they used the raw skin of a sheep which grew on to him and the patient recovered, but they used to shear seven stone of wool off him every year! I found no Finn tales in the Islands.

The Giants.

Legends of the giants have at least a respectable antiquity in this district, for one of them has found a place in the *Life of St. Patrick*, as told in the *Book of Armagh*. The saint had come into the territory of MacEarca, in Dichuil and Aurchuil, in Co. Mayo, when he reached a huge sepulchre his followers refused to believe that any man of corresponding size had ever lived, so Patrick raised its occupant from the dead. He was a cowherd of Lugir, a king contemporary with King Cairbre a century before, and, though his aspect was so terrible that none could bear to look on him, he humbly thanked Patrick for having released him, even for a moment, fron the "everlasting bonfire." The saint assured the monster that if he only believed and was baptized he should return to happiness. The pagan needed little argument after his fearful experience, was admitted to the faith and died at once. The promontory forts are frequently connected with giants, we have noted the tales of the giant Geodruisge (Deodruisc or Johdhrick) at Downpatrick and Dunbriste;[1] Kirtaan, at Duncarton; Fiachra, at Dun Fiachrach; Eanir (Ean Fhir), at Dunaneanir and Darrig (Dearg), at Dunadearg,[2] near Port na Francagh. In the remarkable triple headland fort, the *Dun* and *Dangan* of Kilmore, on Achillbeg[3] I heard of two giant brothers who lived respectively in the two first-named forts. One always remained on guard, but, in the dim evening light, he saw a monstrous

[1] *Supra*, vol. xxvii. p. 226.

[2] *Roy. Soc. Antt. Ir.* vol. xlii. pp. 103, 197, 205, 209.

[3] *Proc. Roy. Ir. Acad.* vol. xxix. (c), p. 29; *Roy. Soc. Antt. Ir.* vol. xliv. p. 313.

man coming over the ridge to the north and shouted to know who it was. He got no answer, hurled a rock and slew the stranger. On going up to inspect the body he found he had killed his own brother and slew himself. The two ill-starred brothers lie under the *leachta*, or altars, in the outer fort. A legend of a giant evidently existed at a rock between Foghill and Downpatrick called Leimanirmore, or "Big man's leap." Fiachra, King of Irros in the late fourth century, was evidently a reputed giant, striding his horse over the great chasm at Dun Fiachrach. He was a special patron of the O'Haras, even floating casks of wine to them, and protected forts and ancient hawthorns.[1] The followers of Finn are all reputed to be giants, one person, in 1838, used to tell as a fact that a human skull "as big as a poteen still" had been found in a bog near Louisburg.[2]

The historical King Amhalgaid ("Awley"), from whom Tirawley is named (and whose name *Amolngod* appears on the Ogham inscription on the great pillar stone of Breastagh), was evidently another giant. He lived about the beginning of the fifth century; he was remembered at Foghill (*Fochlut* wood in the "Confessio" of St. Patrick), but the name of the ancient Carn Amhalgadha is altered to "Mullach Carn"; it lies about half a mile from Killala, north of a road. Very little of the actual *carn* remains save a circular earthwork 78′ inside and 240′ over all, with large rounded stones in its ring. So also his other monument "Forrach mhic n Amhalgaidh" has lost its personal epithet and become Mullach-forry. It was the inauguration place of the local kings.

The legend of Domhnall Duail bhüide, in Glencashel, makes him a giant: in 1838 his grave was shown, being 30′ long between two stones, one of which was removed soon afterwards[3] the other, I believe, remains, but I could not find it or at least identify it; his "corn stack" and his "turf rick" were formerly shown, but I think are now forgotten. Another giant, near Ballina, used the Clochogle (*Cloch thoghbhaile*, lifted stone) dolmen, there, for his table, whence it is called the "giant's

[1] Lady Wilde, *Ancient Cures, etc.* p. 148.
[2] *Erris and Tyrawly*, p. 286.
[3] *Journal of Roy. Soc. Antt. Ir.* vol. xlii. p. 135.

table." The monument at the ford, below Kilmoremoy, a primitive church, connected with St. Patrick in the early *Lives* of the saint,[1] is with probability supposed to be that called *Fert Echtra* in the legends. It was, however, called *Leaba Liabadoir*, after a supposed giant, as was believed in 1839; he was said to have been slain by a rival giant named Conán. The legend may still exist, but I never heard it on the ground. There is a giant's grave on Slievemore in Achill, but I doubt if the name is local, more probably it originated with some tourist or surveyor. I heard of no giants from Dunadearg down to Bofin; there the tyrant "Bosco" may perhaps belong to that class.[2] Bennabeola, the noble range of serrated peaks in Connemara, and Tombeola Abbey are said to commemorate a giant "Beolo." The "Abbey," a Dominican House, founded about 1427 (or, as some say, a Carmelite House of 1356), built by a De Burgo, had been demolished early in the eighteenth century and the antiquary, Walter Harris, notes it as destroyed;[3] the name Tuaim beola seems to imply the former existence of a tumulus. O'Flaherty in 1684 calls the "Twelve Pins" (recte *Bens*) "the 12 high mountains of Bennabeola, called by mariners the twelve stakes."

In 1878 there was a floating legend of a giant who lived on the north shore of Galway Bay and who threw the great transported blocks into Inishmore (Aran) at another giant there. I do not know if he is the "big man" of *Cuan an fhir mor* ("Great Man's Bay"), called Fearmore by O'Flaherty. He was of great local repute, living long ago, and seizing and plundering all the vessels passing near his den. A large hollow rock was reputed to be his churn, *Cuinneóg an fhir mhoir*, and three other rocks, *Brannradh an fhir mhoir*, his cauldron, in which he used to boil whole the whales he caught for his dinner.[4]

[1] *Ord. Survey Letters, Mayo*, vol. i. p. 70; *Book of Armagh*, p. 27.

[2] *Proc. R.I. Acad.* vol. xxxi. part 2, p. 57, p. 68.

[3] *Wares Bishop* (ed. Harris), vol. ii. p. 295.

[4] *Hist Connaught*, and Hardiman's notes thereon, pp. 63-4.

The Saints.

The local stories of the early Christian period, like those of the heroic period, often lend themselves to an interesting and profitable comparison with early or mediaeval written accounts. The names and a few miracles are remembered at many of the wells and churches.

St. Patrick.—As might be expected, the Apostle of Ireland takes a prominent place in the legends of the saints of Mayo. We have heard[1] his legend at Downpatrick and of his stupendous faith that could say to Dunbriste "be ye moved and it was cast into the midst of the sea." The place where the rock (or spear) hurled at him by the godless Geodruisge as he knelt in prayer, is one of the pilgrim's stations on the edge of the cliff, with a stupendous view of the great sea rock, crowned with its ancient wall. The site appears to be a hut foundation. The other points of the legend are not shown on the ground, but there are two curious stones in the half-levelled oratory near the last. One resembles an oblong box with a bold raised panel on top singularly regular and called "the Anvil Stone," the second resembles a sheep's head and is called "the Sheep Stone," but my informants knew no legend about it nor do the older writers allude to it. Otway tells us (and the legend is still told) that the other stone is called "St. Patrick's Anvil," on which he shod his ass while sojourning in Tirawley. On one of Otway's visits he found two women prostrate before it, but they were uneasy at being found in this posture, and I heard of no special veneration of the stone, though my informants did not conceal their respect for the stations, oratory and well. St. Patrick's ass is commemorated, and the mark of its knees shown in a stone further inland at a place called *Leim an asail* (the Leap of the Ass).[2]

At Croaghpatrick, however, we find the focus of the cultus and legends of St. Patrick.[3] Cruachan Aigle (or Oigle) figures in his early *Lives*. We read of his visit to it on the Saturday

[1] *Supra*, vol. xxvii. p. 226.

[2] *Ord. S. Letters, Mayo*, vol. ii. p. 229.

[3] *E.g. Tripartite Life* (Rolls series, ed. Todd), p. 113.

of Whitsuntide and he fasted on it from Shrove Saturday to Easter-even, withstanding the angelic message that his demands from Heaven were excessive. He was beset by black birds, but he chased them by psalms and ringing his bell, till the angel assured him that he should save as many persons from torment as could fill the space he could see. "Not far doth mine eye reach over the sea," objected the saint. "Then thou shalt have both sea and land," replied the angel. Still discontented the saint took blessing after blessing by force—one of these has a strange suggestion "that the Saxons shall not dwell in Ireland by consent or perforce so long as I abide in Heaven!" When the saint had fasted against Heaven (like a creditor or postulant under the Irish law[1] fasted against a king) till all his demands were granted he left the "Reek" for Aghagower, where a round tower and early church remain and the ancient pilgrim's road extends to them from the "Reek."

In local belief the "Reek" was the spot where the saint assembled all the serpents and poisonous creatures in Ireland (except the gadfly, which had gained exemption by stinging Satan sorely) and drove them into the sea. Probably no story has spread so widely in time and space about our patron saint.[2] In the early *Lives* 13,000 "dark men with hideousness of teeth with the colour of death" appeared to him there and his charioteer died and was buried between the "Reek" and the sea. Tirechan in his *Annotations* tells the same tale, but calls the man Totmael (or "entirely tonsured"); locally he is the saint's pupil, Mionnán, or Benen. The *Leabar Brecc* Homily says that the devils flung themselves into the sea and drowned themselves, so that no devil was seen in Ireland for seven years.[3] It is easy to see how the fiends became dragons, serpents in symbolism, and were taken to account for the absence of snakes in Ireland. The people showed the well on the summit of the lower ridge

[1] See *Senchas Mor* (Rolls series) for legal "fasting," vol. i. pp. 82 n, 83, 93, 99; vol. iii. *Book of Aicill*, pp. 71, 325.

[2] Save the late legend of his adopting the shamrock as the emblem of the Trinity—first found (so far as is known) before 1727, in Caleb Threlkeld's *Synopsis Stirpium Hibernicarum*, "a quaint and interesting botanical work."

[3] Otway, *Tour in Connaught*, p. 477, p. 322.

as the place where St. Patrick first rested.[1] Meeniune (Minane or Benen) and Fiech, the two boys who attended him, were with him there, and Fiech remained with him while Meeniune went on and was torn to pieces by the serpents, but the saint restored him to life. A path up the bed of a winter torrent is called the Cassán Cruaich (or footway of the Reek). The first station there is called the Mionnán (or "kid," Otway was told that the devils, being of goatish shape, set "a devil's child," or kid, to watch Patrick, whence the name, and that it was the saint and Fiech who ascended, while Meeniune, who had bruised his heel, stayed behind). The "big general of the serpents," spitting out fire, thundered down the rocks; so Patrick tried to ring his bell, when the monster struck it a blow with his tail, breaking it to pieces and tearing out the clapper. The saint wept and cried to the blessed Virgin and, at her name, the bell came back perfect into his hand. Ringing it again he put the great serpent to flight, and the monster ran violently down the steep slope into the lake called *Lough na peche* (*loch na peasta*); this was too small, and the monster soon emptied it by lashing his tail. Patrick then consigned his enemy to a larger lake, Loch Dearg, or Loch na Corragh, to the east of the Reek, where he fastened him to the bottom, though, during thunder-storms, the *peist* makes it boil like a pot, as has often been seen.[2] There are several such legends in Ireland; indeed, some say that few Irish lakes have not an enchanted city, cow or snake in their depths. We hear of the "last Irish snake" being imprisoned in a lake in the Galtees on the south border of Co. Limerick till the Monday after the general Resurrection. It rises to the surface on every Monday to ask if the day has come and the saint replies "It is not Monday yet," the snake says wearily "It's a long Monday, oh Patrick," and sinks. I heard as a boy similar tales about Lough Gur in Co. Limerick, about 1872, at Attyflin. Similar tales are told of Doolough in Co. Clare, of Killarney and at Murrisk at the foot of Reek to this day.

Another story of the Reek is told at Kilgeever, seven miles away. The saint at the head of a procession of religious persons "remembered that he had forgotten his prayer book on the

[1] Otway, *Tour in Connaught*, p. 311. [2] *Ibid.* pp. 313-315.

mountain and sending back word for it the book passed from hand to hand till it overtook him." This story is also told of St. Brendan and Mount Brandan at Kilmalkedar in Kerry. Yet another folk-tale, to account for the local incorrect name for Garland Sunday, or *Domhnach cruim dubh* ("Garlic Sunday"), is told in Mayo. The saint chased a witch to the Reek though she hurled back rocks at him. At last she raised a mist and the holy man's followers were afraid to follow him into the "foggy wilderness," so he ran on alone, by chance his foot struck a bell, which he rang till his followers joined him. Hence the first Sunday in harvest is called *Donagh tram dubh*,[1] or the "Sunday of Gloom." He continued his pursuit up the hill and the witch threw garlic-water over him, but Patrick struck her dead with the bell and her blood made Loch Dearg red and gave it the name. He then got to the top and blessed the west and Connemara, which has ever since abounded in fish, but, unfortunately forgetting to bless Erris, the people to the north remained pagans, rakes, profligates and drunkards![2] The story is one of the numerous class embodying the hatred of district to district; I have heard such against the Blasquet folk at Dunquin in Kerry and the Aran folk on the Clare coast and of Iniskea in the Mullet. Certainly I never found the Erris people worse than those of the rest of Mayo, and my recollections of the people of every part of that county are most pleasant.

One cannot but wonder whether the Reek (like, as some suppose, Iniscatha in the Shannon) may not have been a centre of pagan worship, captured and consecrated to Christian usage by the tactful saint. The sanctuary in which the modern little oratory stands is evidently of great, if not of prehistoric, antiquity.[3] It is locally called "the Altar," a rude enclosure of stones walled on three sides with a ledge or slab. The holes between the stones are packed with iron objects—nails, buttons, broken crockery and little bone crosses and crucifixes—votive offerings of the pilgrims. Further on is St. Patrick's

[1] It is, of course, *Crom dubh*, probably an early Christian nickname for a sun god, the black crooked one.

[2] Lady Wilde, *Ancient Cures, etc.* p. 95.

[3] And perhaps Turlough Hill "fort" in Burren, Co. Clare.

bed, a shallow trench. A low wall ran along the edge of the steep over *Lug na naomh*, here the saint rang the bell and the toads and snakes plunged down the slope. There is another massive low wall, evidently of vast antiquity, along the northern edge. To the west is a cairn called the "Virgin's Station." [1]

Caher Island is now getting quite superseded in popular veneration by Croaghpatrick, but, at one time, seems to have been held, at least by the islanders and coast dwellers, in far higher reverence. So holy was it that in 1839 boatmen used to take off their hats to it and say in Irish: "We make reverence to the great God of all the powers and to Patrick the wonder worker." I understand that sails were dipped and oars raised to it, as was done at least down to 1878 (as I saw) in passing Cruach MacDara Island, in Galway Bay, and at Iniscatha in the Shannon, and in Gregory Sound opposite to St. Grigoir's tomb in Aran. I saw no homage done to Caher Island on the two occasions I passed it in a fishing boat in 1911. The mass of conglomerate called the *Leac na naomh*, of whose properties I will speak more fully in the section of "Rocks and Stones," lies in the oratory. Dr. Charles Browne was told by E. O'Maille that the *Leac* was thrown at St. Patrick by a "bad friend," the saint, unable to avoid it, signed the cross and the big stone fell harmlessly on the ground; the tale is identical with that of him and Geodruisge. The saint still cures epileptic patients who sleep in his bed on the island. Near the ancient ring wall of Caherpatrick an old track runs eastward to the shore and is called the Bohernaneeve (*Bothar na naomh*) or Saint's road; it is believed to run under the sea to the Reek, which raises its shapely blue cone beyond the waves. Patrick emulated the miracle of Moses by dividing the sea when he (driven in his chariot by Mionnán and accompanied by a crowd of holy men) passed through the deep in safety to the island. As the place is uninhabited (though a few fishermen, or devotees, sometimes stay a day or two in the lonely holy spot) I had to learn about it from the inhabitants of the neighbouring islands of Turk and Cliara, or Clare Island. I was told that the dan-

[1] For all this see Otway's *Tour in Connaught*, *The Tripartite Life of St. Patrick* (Rolls series), etc.

gerous landing places and multiplicity of *stations* discouraged pilgrims, and the great organized pilgrimage each August to Croaghpatrick has nearly deprived it of distant visitors. However, I saw there was no lack of recent offerings in its oratory —pins, fish hooks, nails, buttons, copper coins, shot and rosaries, —the act of homage (as usual) being more essential than the intrinsic value of the offerings. O'Donovan's notes (1839) and the additions made by Dr. Charles Browne (1895) are of high interest, as knowledge of the legends and observances is rapidly dying out.

Kilmoremoy, close to Ballina, though near the tidal estuary of the Moy, can hardly be included among the places on the coast; however (as in the case of Dundomhnall), I must notice it to complete my notes, it being so germane to the subject of my paper. The *Tripartite Life of St. Patrick* tells of his visit to *Cil mór Muidhe* where "he erected the banner of the cross" on the *Leac fionn bhaile*. He baptized Eocho, son of Dathi, son of Fiachra, at the ford below, raising Eocho's wife, Echtra, from the dead, at her grave near it, called Fert Echtra. John O'Donovan strangely takes the words "erected the banner of the cross" to mean that St. Patrick cut the cross now called *Lia na manach* (Monk's slab)[1]; this, the rude stone monument *Leaba Liabadoir* near the ford, the church and the well of Tobar Phadruig still remain.[2]

At Crospatrick, near Killala, is shown a slab with what are said to be the mark of the saint's pipe (!), like a small crozier, and the mark where he sat.[3]

Leaba Phadruig, near Aughagower Church and Round Tower, was also used as a *station* by devout pilgrims, who, after their

[1] O'Donovan (*Ord. Survey Letters*, *Mayo*, vol. i. p. 66) understands as literal what is evidently symbolic. "Nostrae religionis vexillum triumphale Christi crucem exreit." This can hardly mean that St. Patrick carved the cross on the *Leac*.

[2] *Roy. Soc. Antt. Ir.* vol. xxviii. p. 287, gives an illustration. Olchan, St. Patrick's disciple, is the more probable founder.

[3] *Ord. Survey Letters*, *Mayo*, vol. i. p. 57. I question if O'Donovan is right in placing Fert Echtra to the S.E. and making it a stone structure. It was "ad vadum ante fores," presumably opposite the west door of the church.

observance at the Reek, followed the ancient track, the *Togher* (Tochar) Phadruig, eastward.

The *Liagaun*, or pillar stone, at Foghill (*Coille Fochlud*) was alleged to have been erected by the saint to commemorate his baptism of King "Awley," Amalgaidh. Readers of the saint's confession will recall the touching tale of his vision of the people of "the Wood of Fochlud near the western ocean" calling to him to help them (like St. Paul's vision of the "Man of Macedonia"), and how he writes "after very many years the Lord had granted to them according to their cry." It is most interesting to find an authentic event of the early fifth century remembered at the spot by the peasantry down to the present time.

SS. Enda and Brecan.

In a paper like this, discursive of very necessity, it is hard to get any plan giving fully satisfactory results. So, in arranging the notes upon saints, the topographical plan proves nearly impossible, and in west Connacht, far more than in Co. Clare, the chronological plan breaks down, for many of the saints are dateless, and some even unnamed in the records. This is hardly wonderful, the early Irish named churches after their founders not after the more imposing saints, so many an obscure, if holy, anchorite or priest had no other commemoration than the traditional place-name in which his own found a component.

Of historic saints we find two of the generation after St. Patrick connected with the great Isle of Aran—Bresal, or Brecan, son of Eochu Bailldearg, a Dalcassian Prince, baptized as an infant (along with Father Cairthenn Fionn,[1] the first Christian prince) by St. Patrick, at Singland, near Limerick. It is hard to separate his legends from that of Enda. Very briefly, for I have given the Clare version at greater length in these pages,[2] let me recapitulate. He founded Kilbrecan (a very primitive oratory and well), Doora and Clooney, near Ennis, and Toomullin, where his name survived at the holy well, just opposite

[1] *Tripartite Life of St. Patrick* (Rolls series), p. 206.

[2] Vol. xxiv. p. 204.

to Aran. About A.D. 480 he settled to the east end of Aranmore, where his monastery, Templebrecan, his tomb, *Leaba Brecain* (in which a dedicatory or votive very early slab inscribed "Sancti Brecani" was found) are still objects of great interest. He appears in all the folk-tales as spotlessly pure, cheerful, and even merry, kind, and patient, beyond reach of irritation, as the devils found, for the sole result of their attacks was, quaint kindness, often so holy as to be more painful to the delinquents than the curse of the most powerful saint. As to mortals, the fiercest and most blasphemous was won, heart and soul, by Brecan's kind, open-hearted friendship—he met them as man to man and won them in crowds. One strange (if late) tale said that dining with a king (perhaps his own brother Connall) he gave up his seat to an old low-born priest and sat at the foot of the hall. Indignant at this, his host called on Heaven to put Brecan in his proper place, and lo the King was thrown from his seat and Brecan placed in it above them all. Another told of the anonymous "Saint of Toomullin" and "Saint of Aran" (Enda) near Doolin, on the Clare shore, how a pagan defied the god of Enda and Enda called fire on his head. The sun shone and light rain fell, and Brecan returned thanks that the sinner was spared. The man was about to blaspheme, but he stopped and asked had Brecan saved him, "No," was the reply, "my God spared you, as I knew he would." "Is he more powerful than the other's (Enda's) god?" "No, he is the same." "Well, ye know more about your Master than that other one and talk as if you'd lived in his house, so I'm going to mind *you* this time out." Brecan's festival was kept in Aran on 22nd May.[1] The church in later days was the Parish Church of the western part of the island. In Thomond, according to Colgan, Brecan's festivals, however, were May 1st and October 12th.

Enda, on the other hand, always appears in the folk-tales as a fierce, impetuous, bitter man, if very holy. The mediaeval lives of himself and his sister show him in just the same light. A young prince, whose beloved one died at the time he wished to marry her, he fled the world and, under the instruction of

[1] Colgan, *Acta SS. Hib.* p. 17a, n5, p. 715a.

his sister, the holy Fanchea, of Rossory, he became a pious, most austere, monk. He settled in Aran at the east end, where Teglath Enda Church, nearly buried in the sands, his well, cross and a fragment of a round tower recall his name. His greater church and several others were levelled by the Cromwellian garrison as material for their barrack at Arkin. On a fragment of the high cross a cowled figure is shown on a horse whose fore feet are fixed in a square block.[1] Legend says that Enda and Brecan determined to divide Aran and, after morning Mass, were to set out till they met. Brecan (one version, not what I heard in 1878, says *Columba*) got up early, celebrated the Mass and started before Enda was ready, the latter prayed and his opponent's horse got its hoofs embedded in the rock at Kilmurvey till Enda reached him.[2] There the island is destined to be split asunder, and tradition remembers a great wave crossing at the spot where the island is low, beneath the huge stone fortress of Dun Aenghusa; this actually occurred about 1640.

A Clare legend tells how the converts of the gentle Brecan were far more numerous than Enda's. Boasting of this, they made ill-will between their pastors till Brecan went to Enda, followed by a crowd of converts, and asked his rival to teach him as he sat at his feet. After a while he rose and addressed Enda: "I am your pupil and these men are mine, therefore they are your disciples, now bless them," and the fullest reconciliation was won and the love of the two rivals never dimmed afterwards. What the age of these kindly and suggestive tales may be is uncertain, but they fall in with the older picture of the two saints.[3] In the late *Life of Endeus*, "the eight Abbots" are the opponents of Enda.

The story of how Columba (not Brecan) robbed him of half the island is given with the legend of that saint *infra*. *The*

[1] See *supra*, vol. xxiv. plate iv.

[2] *Hiar Connaught*, p. 78.

[3] Brecan is not named in the late fourteenth century *Life of Enda*, which, however, is usually lacking in early features and even in local colour, and of but little value compared with the still later but folk-lore abounding *Life of Columba*.

Life of St. Columba [1] also tells how Enda received from Heaven a red cow with a white face. She could give so much milk thrice a day that all his monks were satisfied. Enda, however, was given another cow and when she lowed the heaven-sent cow was offended, turned round (made a *desiul*) in honour of the Trinity and sank in "Stagnum na ceannaine," now Loughnacanony, near Kilmurvey (chapter xix). In the next chapter an angel with a flaming knife cut an easy and level approach to the monastery. Enda always appears as hasty and jealous, as when he expels the horses of the chief Corbanus from Aran, forcing them to swim back to Co. Clare from *Tragh na neach*, or horses port. Port Daibche (Portdeeha) on the east strand of Aranmore is also named from the cask (doluim) floating to it in answer to his prayer.

Other Aran Saints.

Aran abounds in small shrines with interesting observances in some cases, and a number of obscure saints [2] found neither in the *Lives* nor the early calendars. St. Kennanach and St. Kenerge (Cendeirge), a prince and princess of Leinster, have a very primitive oratory and "aharla" in the middle isle (Inismaan). *Othairle* in the *Annals* means a burial-place; on Aran *Eathairle* (Aharla) implies a sacred enclosure. The *Eathairle na Cenndhirghe* is 10′ long by 5′ wide, with a small cross and a beautiful little well of the sweetest water. The natives sleep in the enclose for curative purposes.

The Church of St. Cennanach [3] lies on the western shore, above the band of seakale which girds the beach; it is a most primitive oratory, with projecting handle stones at the corners, a lintelled west door with inclined jambs and an angular-headed

[1] *Life of Columba*, by O'Donnell, early sixteenth century.

[2] For a bibliography and full list with descriptions of the remains see *Illustrated Guide to the N., W. and S. Islands and Coast of Ireland* (Handbook vi. Roy. Soc. Antt. Ir.), pp. 63-96.

[3] Hardiman's notes in *HIar Connaught*, p. 118; see photographs in Lord Dunraven's *Notes on Irish Architecture*, vol i. plates xxxvii. and xxxviii. p. 72.

window, with two pitched stones, such as we see in the round towers; beside it is a holed stone. Its name probably meant "church of the canons," as the royal recluses are only known in late local legend. St. Cennanach is sometimes identified with St. Gregory or Grigoire.

St. Coemhan seems a genuine person, a brother and namesake of St. Kevin of Glendalough, about A.D. 580,[1] his church, nearly buried in the sand, is the chief sanctuary of the South Isle (Inishere). His tomb-enclosure, or "bed," *Leaba Coemhain*, has notable curative powers. Childless persons after certain devotional acts in the church sleep in the walled enclosure at the west end of the ruin. The same is told of "St. Brecan's bed" in Aranmore. A story is told how a fisherman caught in a gale called to the saint in trouble, "Oh Choeman, where are you?" and the storm fell.[2]

The Seven Princes are reverenced at *Teampul seacht mic righ*, near an *Eathairle*. We have the "Seacht[3] in Inghien righ Breatain," or "*Tobar na seacht inghean*, at Renvyle, but who "the seven British princesses" were is unrecorded. A grave of the "seven daughters" exists on Inishere near the lake. At the Renvyle site are several *liagans* or pillars, and there was once a famous cursing-stone, *Leac na Seacht n Inghean*, which was carried off and buried by the parish priest because the peasantry used it for invoking curses on their enemies. Another "well of the Seven Daughters" remains near Carna, opposite to Aran, on the north shore of Galway Bay. I heard no tradition about it when there in 1899.

St. Gregory, or *Grigoire*.—Some regard him as the famous pope, others as a very early preacher beheaded by a pagan king. Gregory's Sound between Aranmore and Inishmaan bears his name. The place of his reputed martyrdom is at a heap of stones near Cleggan across the bay, and he is also reverenced at Ballynakill. *Tur Martin*, on Gregory's Sound, is supposed by some to be his tomb.

[1] *The Calendar of Oengus* (*circa* 800) implies some connection between the Saint of Glendalough and the "sea wave," perhaps the *two* saints named Coemhan are one person; Kevin died A.D. 618.

[2] *Hiar Connaught*, Hardiman's notes, p. 87. [3] *Ibid.* p. 118.

St. Columba.—The great Apostle of the Hebrides and one of the three patrons of Ireland (died A.D. 597) was educated in Aran, and a lament on leaving that peaceful and holy retreat is attributed to him. In 1838 his name was substituted for that of St. Brecan in the story of the partition of Aran, but it was probably suggested by some ill-advised leading question of O'Donovan or some other worker for the Ordnance Survey. Probably, as in 1878, St. Brecan was nameless, save at his well and Templebrecan. In the 1380 *Life of St. Enda*[1] we read that when that saint claimed half the island he was opposed by the abbots of the eight other monasteries. They fasted to learn the will of Heaven, and an angel appeared and presented Enda with a gospel and bell, which decided the contest in his favour. The very late *Life of St. Columba*, by O'Donnell, chief of his nation, in the early sixteenth century, gives a variant of the Dido legend. When Columba was a student in Aran he asked Enda for a field in which to found a monastery and was (of course) refused by the saint, who always figures as ungracious and jealous in the tales of all periods. He then asked for as much as his cowl could cover. This was granted, and the cowl began spreading till it had covered half the isle before the indignant Enda could even protest and repudiate a bargain so warped. The field was called *Gort an Chochaill*, or "cowl-field," which evidently originated this valueless tale. The Co. Clare folk merely recall the landing of the saint from Aran below his oratory at Crumlin in Burren. Almost the only local legend of St. Columba tells how he was so thin that when Enda and he fought for the half of the isle and Columba was thrown, the rock was marked by his ribs, the furrows being still shown, or at least till some fifteen years since. This tale was told in 1838.[2] Farther north, the parish of Oughaval is dedicated to Columba, who is said to have foretold that it shall be devasted by the *Rosuall*, a formidable leviathan, probably a super-walrus.[3] The church and graveyard on Inisturk is also

[1] By MacGraidin, in Colgan, *Acta SS. Hib.*

[2] *O.S. Letters, Galway*, vol. iii. p. 332.

[3] *The Book of Leinster* and the *Dind Senchas* tell us much of the Rosuall (? Hross whal). It spouted at Murrisk, in Mayo, and a plague ensued, for

dedicated to Columba, but only his name was remembered in 1911.

St. Kieran (*Ciaran mac an t saor*), the founder of Clonmacnoise, was also founder of a fine church on Aranmore Teampul (or Mainistir) Chiarain, with its hole-stone and cross, well and cell. Local legend, in 1670, said he was employed to thresh corn, and he did it so thoroughly that he threshed all the straw into grain. Deprived of thatch the people built the stone-roofed cells.[1]

Saints of the West Coast.

St. Flannan.—The patron of Killaloe lived in the latter part of the seventh century and was son of a local prince, Thoirdhealbhagh, probably chief of the little Dalcassian tribe on the Shannon in east Co. Clare, later on known as Ui Thoirdhealbhaigh, but sometimes called wrongly the "King of Thomond." Flannan was a voyager and worked as a missionary up the Scottish coast to the Flannan Isles, which still contain his oratory and cells. He is reverenced on Galway Bay on Dec. 1st at Ballindoon church and Irrosflannan, or "Flannan's peninsula."

St. Fechin.—The patron of Fore (about A.D. 630) founded a monastery on Omey Island (*Imaidhe*) from which Colgan obtained the oldest copy of his life, 1000 years later. His day is Jan. 30th, and his holy wells are at Tinnakille in Ross, Cannanagh, and Gowlannall near Tombeola. He is also venerated on Ardillaun, or High Island.

St. Sinnach MacDara.—This much-feared saint is especially venerated at Cruach mac Dara Island, outside Bertraghbuy Bay. His identity is unknown; some suppose him to be a fox hero! his name meaning "Fox, son of oak," but the fox, and even its name, is of ill-omen, and, above all, spoils a day's fishing, while the saint (though only spoken of by his patronymic "MacDara") is especially venerated by fisher folk. I have not noted his cultus further south than Oughtdara, oppo-

(as the first authority states) if it spouts upwards the birds die, or downwards then it kills the fishes, or if it spouts at the land a pestilence ensues.

[1] *O.S. Letters, Galway*, vol. iii. p. 294.

site to Aran, in Co. Clare, where the peasantry greatly fear to use his name lest they might use it in an angry moment as a curse. The Croagh[1] has a very early stone-roofed oratory and carved stones, one reputed to represent the saint. It is strange, though not unprecedented, that his name should be forgotten for we have anonymous saints—St. (Findclu) Inghean Baoith and St. MacCreiche—on the adjoining shores of the great bay. At the Croagh, sails are (or were in 1878) dipped and oars raised by passing fisher-boats in his reverence. That he lived in the sixth century is a mere guess. His feast days fall on July 16th and Sept. 28th. In 1896, though the weather had been stormy, about 100 pilgrims landed on the Croagh and did the *rounds* on the beaten track according to ancient custom. The holy well is now usually dry and the personal offerings are few. His wooden statue was in high repute, like those of St. Carroll near Kilrush in Co. Clare, of St. Brendan on Inishglora and of St. Molash on Inishmurray in Co. Sligo, but as far back as before 1650, Malachy O'Queely, "titular" Archbishop of Tuam, had it removed and secretly buried. Women in 1670 used to gather seaweed (*duleasg*) on the "captives stone" on the shore of his island to benefit friends and relatives in prison. His altar stone, *Leac Sinach*, was kept at Moyruss Church, on the opposite shore of the channel opposite to the Croagh; I could not find, or even hear of it in 1899. The inhabitants of Aran and the mainland used to name their children after him; but boats called by his name were regarded as unlucky, even at the end of the last century. There was some unusual fear of telling about him at Carna and Moyruss, so I learned less than in Aran or Co. Clare. Roderic O'Flaherty, in 1687, gives a full and interesting account of the misfortune which overtook a skipper who in defiance of the saint would not dip sail on passing the Cruach.[2]

St. Roc or *Salroc*.—A local legend tells of a contest between this saint and Satan at the Salroc Pass, in Connemara. The saint had a cell at the foot of this picturesque defile from the Killeries southward, and one day the Devil found him asleep

[1] *Journal Roy. Soc. Antt. Ir.* vol. xxvi. p. 101.
[2] *Hiar Connaught*, pp. 99-101.

and chained him. The enemy feared to meet St. Roc face to face and sprang over the mountain dragging at the chain which cut the narrow pass in the subsequent contest. The cell is marked by a graveyard with some rude stations or heaps of stones. I have not heard this legend in Connemara, so give it merely on "book-authority."[1] It was probably made for tourists.

St. Leo, like St. Roc, finds no place in the Calendars or *Lives of the Saints*. He is reverenced on Inishark. There are two slabs at his church, one with a carving of a bishop with a chalice, the other, called *Leac Leo*, has the reputed mark of a footprint made as he stepped down from the church. His cave, *Uaimh Leo*, and his well are shown. His bell is noted by Roderic O'Flaherty in 1684 as made of brass or bronze, and it was cut up into pieces for relics or amulets; some were extant in 1846. Like the holy stone on Caher Island it was carried off by sailors (French, in one version), who took it to the Bay of Biscay, but had to return and restore it, being pursued by storms (or threw it into the sea in a storm, when it returned and was found on the shore by seaweed-gatherers). I heard this variant legend on Inisturk. The natives of Shark, after performing their rounds and praying at the well, sometimes conclude their devotions by sleeping in the clochan—one of the stations is an ice-borne granite boulder with a "bullaun," or basin, ground into it. The saint's day is observed on April 11th.

St. Colman.—Readers of the Venerable Bede's history will remember how, in A.D. 667, Colman, the saintly Abbot of Lindisfarne, for thirty-seven years a Columban monk of Iona, entered into the Pascal controversy. King Oswy decided in favour of the Roman observance, and Colman retired to Iona and then to Inishbofinde, the island of the White Cow. He also founded a monastery at Mayo. A late church marks the site of his monastery on Bofin, the only early relic being a large basin stone. There were two wells, but Tobercolman, though traditionally remembered, could not be located even in 1839. St. Colman died A.D. 674 or 676; his day is August 8th. His successor, Beretan, died Jan. 14th, A.D. 711 or 712. On that

[1] *Ireland* (Mr. and Mrs. S. C. Hall), vol. iii. p. 489.

day another abbot, Luighbe, of unknown date, is also venerated. There is no tradition of Colman's burial being at Bofin. He is very probably the patron of Tobercolman well and the Killeen graveyard near it on Achill. Four tyrants, "Coman, Aumin, Henry and Puca," are said to have broken off the arms of St. Colman's cross and burned the house of Dubhdara Omaille, probably the legendary father of Grania Uaile, or Grace O'Malley, about 1550. St. Colman's well had gone dry in 1838 and people used to fill a hollow slab near it with water for the *pattern*.[1] A Mr. Nangle, scathingly criticised by the *Ordnance Survey Letters*,[2] wrote of a "stone god of Achill," of which no one else ever heard. He was more famed for his controversial zeal than for accuracy of observation and very likely had heard of the "Neevoge" of Iniskea. So also Lady Wilde seems to have transferred some half-forgotten account of the wooden figure at Inishmurray when she tells of "Father Molosh a wooden idol on one of the Achill Islands it was a rude semblance of a human head."[3] Just where writers should have been most critical and careful they seem to be most careless and assertive.

St. Daimhoidh.—No legend of a saint was found by me on Clare Island. The holy well is not dedicated to St. Brigid but to her festival. St. Daimhoidh, a sainted lady, was reverenced in Achill; she had a church named Kildavnet on Achill Sound near the Omailles Castle, and the late seventeenth century maps show another Kildawnet on Achillbeg, at the great promontory fort of Dun Kilmore.[4] There a venerable "killeen" graveyard, basin, stone and two low slab altars, heaped with white pebbles, are still to be seen, though the church has not left a foundation and the altars are supposed to be giants' graves.

St. Derbhile, another sainted lady, is venerated on the Mullet and in South Iniskea. She was of the reigning house of King

[1] *Ord. Survey Letters, Mayo*, vol. i. pp. 343-4.

[2] *Mayo*, vol. i. p. 345.

[3] *Ancient Legends, etc.* (Lady Wilde), vol. i. p. 111.

[4] *Proc. Roy. Ir. Acad.* vol. xxxi. part ii. (c), p. 65; *Journal Roy. Soc. Antt. Ir.* vol. xliv. p. 350.

Fiachra,[1] but either there were two saints of the name living about 590 A.D., or some mistake has crept into the Calendars, for the name appears commemorated on Aug. 5th and Oct. 26th. Near her holy well on Iniskea is a *leacht*, a heap of white stones. Her little church among the Fallmore sandhills at the south end of the long peninsula of the Mullet (opposite to the noble mountain of Slievemore in Achill) is a most interesting little ruin, nearly buried in the sand. Her shrine, her "keeve" and grave, a dry-stone enclosure with a wooden cross, adjoin the oratory.[2]

St. Marcan.—At Burrishoole on Clew Bay lived a saint named Marcan who fought with St. Brigid. She cursed him, but he was too holy to be affected, and foretold that his house should be inundated, which took place when the sea broke into the lake. Pilgrims to his well (still famous for cattle cures) had to be careful not to visit any place sacred to St. Brigid on their way thither, such as Kilbride in Tirawley. The site of his house was shown under the sea, even in 1839.

St. Brendan.—Brennan, or, more usually, Brennall, figures largely in the folk-tales of this coast. The inhabitants of its islands believe firmly that he discovered America.[3] The fishermen of North Iniskea showed Dr. Charles Browne [4] certain bare patches on the former island, and told how Satan, disguised as a beautiful girl, disturbed the saint at his prayers and proceeded to tempt him. Brennan indignantly repulsed "her," and hunted "her" to the end of the island, blessing the place as he followed. The author of evil was unprepared for such righteous wrath, lost his presence of mind for once and changed into a great ram. The saint, all the more angry, pressed on his pursuit, but in his anger forgot to bless the soil, and so, though he drove the enemy into the sea, the spots where the Devil

[1] *Martyrology of Donegal.*

[2] Lord Dunraven, *Notes on Ancient Irish Architecture*, vol. i. p. 107, plate lvi.; *Roy. Soc. Antt. Ir. Handbook V.* p. 21, p. 32.

[3] *Handbook VI. Roy. Soc. Antt. Ir.* pp. 27-29; see O'Hanlon's *Life of the Irish Saints*, vol. v. (May 16). An elaborate compendium. St. Brendan died May 16, A.D. 577.

[4] *Proc. Roy. Ir. Acad.* vol. iii. ser. iii. p. 639.

landed after each spring were blighted for ever. Brennan has a number of holy wells dedicated to him, but the centre of his cultus in Connacht is certainly Inisglora. Of it wonderful stories were told which came down to Giraldus Cambrensis and even got transferred to Aran and confused and forgotten—how the bodies in the holy isle never decayed, and so forth. The peasantry of the other isles (for Inisglora is uninhabited) deny that the soil prevents putrefaction, and point to the decayed bones in evidence for their denial. The curiously rude wooden figure of St. Brennan is in the larger oratory on Inisglora and may be seen through the doorway in Lord Dunraven's photograph.[1] It was said to have been painted, but retains no trace. It was fibrous and weather-worn even when Otway saw it, and is now strangely crackled. Like the others of St. Molash on Inishmurray, and the lost ones of Kilcarroll, Co. Clare,[2] Templedahalin on Kerry Head, and that on St. MacDaras Island, it was held in high esteem and accredited with curative powers. Giraldus tells the same of other images of the Irish saints in his day. Any man who thrice lifted the image at Inisglora with true faith could benefit women in childbirth. Ships used to dip their sails in reverence of the saint when passing Inisglora. I could not learn in the Mullet if the practice is maintained to our times. Before leaving the subject I may state briefly[3] that the island has another oratory, the Church of the Women, three "thorrows" or domed huts, a well, and seven *leachts* or stations. The most venerated of the "thurrows" is the *Leachta relig Mhurragh*, or "station of the relics of the Blessed Virgin Mary," to whom it is dedicated. Another kiln-like hut is called the "*Aigh*" or "*Oigh*," "the pure place." It is customary to break bread between two people in the "thurrow-more." No woman could approach the holy well, and if they touched it the water became blood-stained and full of worms and corruption. One old man at Belmullet who had lived in

[1] *Notes on Irish Architecture*, vol. i. plate xxxiii. p. 40.

[2] *Erris and Tyrawly*, p. 102.

[3] For fuller accounts of this most interesting holy isle, see Otway's *Tour in Connaught*; *Handbook VI. Roy. Soc. Antt. Ir.* p. 26, and Dr. C. Browne, *Proc. R. Ir. Acad.* vol. iii. ser. iii. p. 643.

his youth on Inisglora told the parish priest, Rev. P. O'Reilly, and Dr. Charles Browne,[1] about 1894 or 95, that he had three times seen this occur after a woman touched it, but a little while after he had cleared it out it filled again with pure water. The people I questioned either could not or would not tell anything about this belief, but it is known that if a man or even a male infant draws a cupful a woman can drink the water, which remains clean. Rats and mice cannot live on the island, and earth from Inisglora drives them from a house. I know at least one lady in Belmullet who attests this miracle, and it has been used in other houses (as far south as Co. Limerick) with, it is said, complete success.[2] I will only note that at Tober Brennail, near Dunfeny Church and pillar in Tirawley, not far from Ballycastle, the saintly navigator is reverenced. Large *stations*[3] were held there and are named in 1839 in the *Ordnance Survey Letters*, but have been practically disused, though individual devotees frequent the well.

The "Neevoge" or "Knaveen."—St. Columba is reverenced on South Iniskea, but I cannot learn that the wonder-working image formerly on that island represented him. Any enquiry as to this image needs great tactfulness, as certain controversialists of the Achill "Mission" and in Dublin used more zeal than charity in denouncing the image. It was called the Neevoge ("naomh óg"), or little saint, and the "Knaveen," I only heard of it under the former name. It was said to have been brought to Iniskea by a holy priest who said that as long as it was reverenced it would save the island from shipwrecks. Otway[4] heard that it was stolen by smugglers, but they were so pursued by storms and chased by a revenue cutter that they lost heart and restored it; but this tale (as we saw) is told of the saint's stone on Cahir Island and of St. Leo's Bell on Inishark, and I do not know if Otway confused the former tale with Iniskea. He was told that the image was of wood. I heard both in Achill and the Mullet that it was of

[1] *Proc. Roy. Ir. Acad.* vol. iii. ser. iii. p. 634.

[2] So Mrs. Studdert, 1911; see also *Proc. R. Ir. Acad.* vol. iii. ser. iii. p. 631.

[3] *Journal Roy. Soc. Antt. Ir.* vol. xlii. pp. 113, 114.

[4] *Tour in Connaught* (1839), p. 382; *Erris and Tyrawly*, p. 107.

stone. Mr. G. Crampton (a good authority) told Otway that the Neevoge, or Knaveen, was reputed to still tempests, wreck vessels on Iniskea for the benefit of his devotees, and make the sea calm for their fishing. It was said to be a rudely-cut stone image clad in undyed flannel and it was dressed in a new suit on each New-Year's day. Once a pirate landed and burned the houses save that in which the Neevoge was kept. Indignant as its intervention, he searched for and found the image, and broke it with a sledge-hammer. Faith in its power over the elements was extinct, even in 1836, though it was still kissed and held in honour. Dr. Browne [1] heard that some years before 1895 a parish priest got the image, which was kept in a hole in the wall of a house, from its curator, an old woman, and threw it into the sea, but that he soon afterwards died. One man, who had seen it, said that it was not a statue, but a flat stone kept in a homespun bag. All agreed that the island had never known disaster or hunger till the *neevoge* was destroyed.

Philip Lavelle, "King of Iniskea," found an ancient bell in the ruins of St. Columba's Church on Iniskea, and I may add the curious fact that, on South Iniskea, the Rev. Dr. Lyons found graves in which lay skeletons with their faces downward and ashes on their feet. This is of great interest when we recall the cases in Ireland, in Iceland, in the South Sea Islands and elsewhere in which bodies were exhumed and reburied in this posture (or decapitated) to prevent their *post-mortem* activities against the survivors. Notably the case of King Eoghan Beul in this very province.[2]

T. J. Westropp.

[1] *Proc. Roy. Ir. Acad.* vol. iii. ser. iii. p. 639.

[2] Having been buried upright in the rampart of a ring fort, A.D. 537, his spirit frustrated all raids from Ulster till the enemy ascertained the cause, removed his body to low ground, and buried him face downwards in wet soil. Cf. Stevenson, *In the South Seas*, chapter vi. where a vampire chief is exhumed and buried in the same way.

Folk-Tales from County Limerick collected by Miss D. Knox.

The Chanie Man.

Well, there is an ould castle called Carrigorely (?) and near it there was a fort. Well, God rest his soul, for he is dead now, a man the name of Tom Harrigan, and he was quarrying stones near the fort, when he found among the stones a little chanie man. Being of a quare turn of mind he insisted on the chanie man to speak. Well, he brought it home, and put it on the dresser, with the remark, "I'll make you speak before mornin'." He went to bed, and when he got up in the mornin', the little man was gone, but the quare part of it was,—God between us and harm,—he had three children, after, and all three were deaf and dumb, and I knew him as well as I know you. From that day to this they quarried no more stones there.—Told by Richard Walsh, Caherconlish, Co. Limerick.

The Runaway Road, and how it got the Name.

I'm seventy years or over id [it] now, well, I don't remember id [it], but I often heard my father—God rest his sowl—talking about id [it].

That was a good strait [straight] road at the time from you lave Shra, till you come to within a mile of Doonbeg [Dunbeg]. Well, sir, 'twas about Christmas time, and the night was very stormy, but thank God there was no harm done to anybody. But when me father got up in the mornin', and opened the door, and looked out, "The Lord save us," says he, "where is the road gone to?" There was the house, that was on the road side, in the middle of a field, and all the other cabins the same way. "The Lord betune us and harm," says he to me mother, "the road is gone away." And sure, there was the road, about two fields away and twishted like a live eel, and facing twords [towards] Kilrush. Well, to get to the road agin they had to put a wooden bridge across that river below, and there it stopped from that day to this, and that's why 'tis called the Runaway

Road.—Told by James Whelan, Shra, Co. Clare, between Doonbeg and Kelrush [Kilrush ?].

The Piggin.

I often heard me mother tellin about id, 'twas in the bad times, an' the poor people were starvin'. There was a family, the father, mother, an' daughter, a young slip ov about twelve. The father and mother both died in one week from faver, God bless us. The night the mother was buried, an ole woman called at the house and remained till mornin'. When she was goin', she called the little orphan, and gave her a wooden piggin, an' says she, "Take this, and go to Listowel fair, this day week, and offer it for sale, an' I wish you luck," says she.

None of the neighbours ever see her before, or after. Some said she was mad, an' others advised her to do what the ole woman tould her. Well, to make it short, she wint, and there was a great lot of people in the fair field, and she stood in one spot, and the people gethered round her, when they heard her callin' out, "Buy me piggin, buy me piggin." All at wans, [once] there was great confusion, as two horses cam gallopin' twors [towards] the crowd, and tryin' to make way. The little girl was knocked down. The two men that was on the horses turned back, an' asked who was hurted, and they see the girl on the ground; they asked her if she was hurted, and she said, "No, sir. Will you buy me piggin?"

"How much?" says one, "I will give you a ginnee [guinea] for it." Says the other, "I'll give her two." Says th' other, "I'il give her five." "I'll give her ten," an' they went on risin', and risin', till it wint to hunders upon hunders. At last one of um (them?) says, "Let us give er ten hundred apiece." The parish priest was sint for, and he got the money to keep for the girl until she came of age.

She got married at eteen [eighteen?], and a grand match she got, and some of her grandchilder are livin, and not far from this place, and for a long time they were called "The Piggins." But they did not care, they were rich. That oul [old] woman must be one of the good people.—Told by P. Cronin, Ballylongford.

O

Barrel-grown Wheat (Local).

The name is Mescall, and he got married, and he waited long enough, he got a fine decent girl. But he was a regular miser; when he would see any poor person goin' up to the house, he would say, "There's no one, adin [within]"; but she, poor woman, when he would be out, would let nobody go without somethin'. When the spuds would be dug he would measure them, and put in as much as should do a month. Well, she could not give and have, so when she did give to the poor she used to borry from the neighbours. At lash, all the spuds were gone, and there was nothing left to give but whate [wheat], that he had locked in a barrel, for seed. When the poor people would come, she could not let them go adout [without] somethin', so she used to manage to get a key and open the barrel and give them the whate. At last that was all gone, and this night the husband says, "I think I'll set that whate tomorrow." The poor woman did not know what to do, so she gets up early in the mornin', and goes to her mother's about two mile away. When he got up an' did not see her, they had one little boy in the house, some relation of his, and he axed him where was the misses. He said she was gone over to her mother's. "Gone over to her mother's, and so much to be done! Go over after her an' tell her to come home quick, and tell her I am going to set the whate. Come out first, an' bring that bucket there." So out they went to the barn and he opened the barrel; and God be praised, the barrel was packed with the finest whate that ever was see [seen]. He filled the bucket, an' off went the boy for the misses. When he got there, he tould her that the master was setting the whate, an' he wanted her home. "Where did he get the whate?" says she. "In the barrel in the barn, and every bit of it buddin'. I never saw him so glad." "Thanks be to God," says she. The whate was set, and cut and trached [thrashed] and a better crop there wasn't in the county. She tould him about it after, and id changed him altogether, for he was a charitable man to the day he died. There is plenty of her relations in the county around here.—Told by Mrs. Guerin, Shanagolden.

'Twas Haunted.

As I said, this occurred to me gran'uncle at the mother's side. Him and me gran'father were goin' to a fair, for fear of tellin' a like [lie], I think 'twas to Limerick. Of coorse there was no trains at that time, an' they started, about tin o'clock, I suppose they got a drop on the road, but anyhow, whin they came as far as Stonehall comin' home that night, they heard grate [great] noise in front of um. "Stop," says me gran'father, "there must be a crowd of tinkers." "Yerra, come on," says the other, "what can they do to us?" So on they wint, and they could see the people before them, an' hear the talking, but no sound of feet, and there were men and women, crowds of um. "Blasht them!" says me gran'uncle, "they have no brogues on um. Come on and pass um!" They came near enuff [enough] to touch um, but try as hard as they could, they couldn't pass um. My gran'uncle sez, "Get your stick ready." But just as he said it he was surrounded. Well, as he tould us after, he could feel no hands on him, nor anything, but could not get away. Me gran'father came home early in the mornin', but had no account of me gran'uncle. But after a week, one night in walks im, and you'd think he was dead for a year. He was kep as [kept in] a fort, as he tould us, and had to work hard for the week. He could see nothing to keep him from coming out, but there was somethin' alway aginst him, when he would come to the edge of the fort. He was never the same man after, God rest his soul! As he often said, if they passed without sayin' anythin', they were all right.—Told by Mr. Ashe, near Ballyhahill.

The Unfinished Chapel, Clonkeen.

I'm goin' to tell you 'tis there to be seen to the present day, a churchyard called Clonkeen, in Abington, Co. Limerick. There was a friary, and all the friars were hunted out of it in the Cromwellian times. They going left their blessing to Abington. In the graveyard, there is a structure of stone in the form of a chapel. In one night it appeared, and a woman who was going to Limerick, in the early hours of the morning, see the

men working. She, passing, said, " Ye have a good dale [deal] done without saying, God bless you ! " They were at the time near the roofing. The structure remains to-day to be seen, unroofed, as they left it on that night. No structure was there the night before, and it was built to the present position on the next morning.—Told by R. RAHILLY, Abbington.

Cusheen Hill, Clare.

I remember to hear of them, by the ould people, that often they used to see them in hunders in the fields.

Do you see that big white house on the hill ? Well, sir, in oulden times there was a big gentleman living there, and he used to keep hounds, and hosses, and servants galore. There was one nice girl there, as house maid, and the coachman, a fine young fella, was courtin' her. But in thim times the pay was small, and he did not like to marry her, till he had money enuff to give her a dacent home. Well, one night he was goin' home, 'twas late, and up on that fort, above, he heard great wailin'. " Some one is in trouble," says he, " and I'll relieve them if I can." So up he goes, and what was it but a whole team of the good people. There was a big tree lyin' across their dancing ring, and the craturs couldn't lift it. When they see him, they axed him to remove it, and so he did. Then the king says to him, " I will give you any wish you like, for what youre after doin'." " Well," says he, " there is a girl up at the big house, and I'd like to marry her, but I haven't the manes to support her." " Well," says the fairies, " don't go to work to-morra ; but sind word that you are sick, and the gentleman and his wife and daughter will be goin' to Kilkee, and they will have the groom drivin' them. Come here about 8 o'clock, and as they are passin', the horse will take head ; you need not be afraid, but jump, and ketch the reins, and lave the rest to us." Begor, he done as they tould him, and just as he was passin', down comes the horse tanteevy. But just as they were all likely to be killed, he jumps and ketches the reins. The gentleman asks him what reward he would like, and he tells him about the girl.

" I will give you for life 2 pound a week and the lodge to live in, and will pay all expenses of your marriage."

So he got married and spent a happy lovin' life and his children after him were with the gentleman's heir, until things got bad all over the country. There's some of his friends and relations in Cusheen still.—Told by Mick O'Brien, aged 82, Cusheen, Co. Clare.

A Fight with a Ghost.

'Tis up to fourscore years now since id happened. There was two great men at every game: hurling, runnin', jumpin', and boxin', trowin waits, [throwing weights] and they could not bate one another. One was Patcheen Vasey and th' other was Thomas Magner. Well, they were at all the sport in the country, but they were still no better than one another.

Well, 'twas the will of God that Vasey got sick, and Magner cum to see him. " How are you, Pat? " says Magner. " I think my sportin' days are over, Tom," says Pat. Well, they spoke of all the jumping and wrastling they ever had, and says Pat, " Tom, we will meet agin." " I hope so," says Tom, " in a better world, with God's help."

They wished good-bye to one another, and, God rest his sowl! that night poor Vasey died. But accordin' to what I'm goin to tell you, his poor sowl wasn't aisey, for he was seen at the corner by a good many, a few nights after. Well, Magner was comin' from Carrigaholt fair one night, about three weeks after Vasey dine [died], when, comin' near the cross, his hair stood of an ind, for who was standin' there but Vasey. " The Lord preserve us! " says Magner. " Is that you, Pat? " " 'Tis, Tom," says Pat, " and you must fight me." " Fight a ghost! " says Tom. " Yes," says the ghost, squarin' before him. Tom, nothin' daunted, squared up too, an' meela murther! the fight began. Well, to make a long story short, Tom was found in the mornin', black and blue, beside the road, and he would be dead, only the ghost had to lave when the cock crew, as Tom tould before he died, for he never overed the bating, but lingered for about three monts, when he died; and that corner is to this

day called the Ghost's Corner, and a lonesome place it is of a night. God rest both of them now, that they may be in peace! —Told by JAMES KELLY, Tullaroe (?), Co. Clare.

The Ould Hare.

When I was a little girl, 'twas out near Loop Head I live. Well, there was an owl woman lived in a small little cabin by herself, and all the nabors around used to be in dread of her; they said she was chanted (?) [haunted]. No one knew how she lived, for she never left the cabin in the day, but they said she used to go out through the fields at night. Nearly every week some of the nabors' milk would be gone, and if it wasn't, if they were churnin' for a month, 'twouldn't make butter.

One, a man the name of Shawn Teigue Mack said he would know if 'twas she that was taking the butter. So he watched all night at the cabin, and about twelve o'clock he saw a hare cum out of the house. The very minit it saw Shawn, away would it across the field, but Shawn fired, and struck it in the shoulder. Begor, the next morning trucks [tracks] of blood was seen along the road to the cabin. What did Shawn do, but call to the cabin, and the door was barred from inside. But he shoved in the windy, and sure enuff, there was the owl dame, and all her shoulder wrapped up in calico. She left the place shortly after, for she knew she was found out, and no one ever missed butter or milk after.—Told by KATE VASEY, Moveen, Co. Clare.

The Mile Stone, how it got the Name.

That stone was lying for years about two miles from Ventry, on the side of the road. Well, they were goin' to have a foot race between two great runners, one from Ventry, th' other from Dingle. The race was four miles, and they wanted to mark the distance. There was a cusin of one of the runners, powerful strong, and as they were walking to measure the distance, they cums to this big stone, when Mick Sugrue, that was his name, I'm descended from him, lifts this stone and carries it, to do as a mark, until they comes adin [within] a mile of Dingle. He leans

over the ditch, and slaps down the stone, and there it is till this day, and the weight of that stone is about two ton. So that's the way it got the name of the Mile Stone.—Told by JOHN SUGRUE, a native of Kerry.

The Child that came back.

There was a woman lived near us in Frure, outside Kilkee. Well, 'twas the will of God she had a child, an' a finer boy there wasn't in the parish, until he was about a year ould, but after that he began to pine away. Well, he lived to be about 3 years, and from the time he began to pine, the mother often woke at night and found him out of bed. Well, when he began to talk, the speech he made use of was quare and bad. He used to go up to the loft to where the gran'mother used to sleep, and sthale [steal] the dudeen [pipe] from under her head. She often wandered, why the pipe would always be imty [empty] in mornin', until one night she woke, and there was the buachal [boy], goin down the ladder, and the pipe stuck in his gob.

She tould the mother next mornin' about id, and the father put down a big fire that night. "Come now," says he to the lad, "in there you go ov you don't tell me where my son is." Begor, he swore and cursed, that he was his son, but the husband couth hould [caught hold] of him and was putting him in, when he says: "Let me go, and you will have your son in the mornin." They thought not to sleep that night, but they did; but when the mother woke, she was surprised to find alongside her a fine boy, and the picture of the father, I have it from people that see him.—Told by ELLEN MURRINAN, Frure.

Twenty Years with the Good People.

I had a gran'uncle, he was a shoemaker; he was only about 3 or 4 months married. I'm up to fourscore now. Well, God rest all their souls, for they are all gone, I hope to a better world! Well, sir, he says to his wife, and a purty girl she was, as I hear um say,—the fortune wasn't very big but 'twould buy him a good bit of leather, and I might tell you, 'twas all brogues that

was worn at the time, and faith, you should be big before you would get them same.—Howisever, he started one day for Limerick would [with] and ass and car, to bring home leather and other little things he wanted. He did not return that night or the next, nor the next. Begor, the wife and some frinds went to Limerick next day, but no trace of the husband could be found. I forgot to tell you that the third morning after he was gone the wife rose very early, and there at the dure [door] was the ass and car. The whole country was searched, up high and low down, but no trace. Weeks, monts and years came and went, but he never turned up.

Now the wife kept on a little business, sellin' nick-nacks to support herself, and a son, that grew to be a fine strapping man, as I hear um say, the picture of his father. Now, sir, the boy was in or about twenty, when one day, himself and his mother were atin' their dinner, whin in comes a man and says, "God save ye!" "And you too," says the mother. "Will you sit down, sir?" She gev him a stool and he sat down. "Will you ate a spud, sir?" says she. He rached for the spud, and in doin' so the sleeve of his coat shortned as he reached out his hand. He had a mole on his wrist and she see it, and her husband had one in the same spot. "Good God!" says she, "are you John M'Namara?"—for that was his name.—"I am," says he, "and your husband, and that's my son, but I can't tell you for some time where I was since I left you. But some time I might have the power, but not now." Well, lo and behold you, in a week's time he started to work, and the boots he made were a surprise to the whole country round, and I believe he lived for nine or ten years ater that, but he never tould her or any one where he was, but of course everybody knew that 'twas wood [with] the good people.—Told by JOHN KELLY, Cooraclare? Co. Clare.

Balaha, how it got the Name.

If you want to know how it got the name, I'll tell you. Years upon years ago, there wus three sisters lived in a big house, down near the shore. They never made free wid any body, but always

kept in themselves. The ouldist people in the parish couldn't tell anything about um. They never left the house, and the ouldist ov um was called Breedogue, although no one knew what their names wus. One day there wus great Shanocus [party] mongst the people; for the night before there was three men, on three grand horses, seen making for the house. All the night there was great singing and music, but when the mornin' came, there was a big lough where the house was, and I often heard the ould people say that 'twas seen, but there was never any trace of Breedogue, or her sisters, or the horsemen after. But there was often great nise heard arount the spot. So that's the rasen 'twas called Balaha or Bid of the lough. She was supposed to be a witch. The Lord save us!—Told by Mrs. Conway, 86 years old, between Kilkee and Doonbeg.

The Tailor.

There was a namesake of mine lived about here years ago. He was a tailor. Bawneens and flannel waistcoats was the chief thing worn then. He was very poor, but very good, and many a poor man and woman he used to lodge in his house, and indeed there was not much tay drank at that time. One night a poor man called and got a night's lodging. Begor, next day the poor ould man wasn't able to travel and the tailor tould him to remain till he'd get better, but instead 'twas worse he got and died in a few days.

The neighbours gother a collection, and between um they burried the poor man. His oul chloes [clothes] were thrown out in the haggard, but one day the tailor was makin' a coat, and he sent the son out for the oul man['s] coat, to get a piece of it for sacking the collar of the one he was makin'. 'Twas all pieces and patches, but I tell you 'twas worth money, for the very minit he put the scissors to it, out drops a goold guiney. 'Twas no mown [no knowen', no knowing] what money wis in the coat.

He went away to America, himself and his family, and took a big house, and had a lot of men workin' for him. I am sure 'twas that that gave him the name of Golden. I am some very

far relation of his, too; but where ever and of his childer or gran'childer is now, I never heard.—Told by THOMAS GOLDEN, Cree, Co. Clare.

Believe in Fairies.

Bleve in um, throth, I have rason to bleve in um! My mother's father had a brother, that was my gran'uncle at the mother's side—God be good to um all! Well, when he was about three or four monts ould, his mother was in bed and asleep, 'twould be about 12 o'clock at night, when she woke wud a start and just had time to grasp the child round the body, for there, long side the bed, was a little man, having the child be the arm. "'Twas well you woke," says he, "but we have part of him." Sur enuf, the arm that was cot [caught] never grew a bit bigger than 'twas that night; although he grew to be a man, he was never right in himself. I have that from my mother—God rest her soul!—and I wouldn't tell a lie of her soul.—Told by MRS. CURTIN, Tullycrine, near Kilrush.

Taken by the Good People.

I was serving my time to the cattle trade, with a man the name of Lynch—God be good to him! I suppose I was no more than twelve years of age at the time. 'Twas a very out of the way place and mountainy. Well, not far from my master's house there was a family of the Brogans. 'Twas the will of God that Mrs. Brogan took sick, and there was a baby born, but the poor woman died. Well, the sister, a younger girl than the woman that died, came to nurse the child. After some time she began to look very delicate and uneasy. The naghbours were beginning to talk amongs themselves about her, and it came to Brogan's ears, and, begor, it made him vexed. So he asked the sister what was up with her. "Well, John," says she, "I did not like to tell you, but Ellie"—that was the name of the dead woman—"comes every night, and takes the baby and nurses it, and goes away without a word." "By my word," says John, "she is not dead at all, but taken, and I will watch her to-night." Good enough, he remained up, and about

12 o'clock in she came, and he put his arms around her, but as he said, felt no substance.

" You can't keep me now," says she, " for I'm married agin ; but if you come to the Bottle Hill field to-morrow night, there will be about 40 of us goin' t'words Blarney, and we will all be on horses, with our husbands. All the horses will be white, and I and my man will be last. Bring a hazel stick woud [with] you and strike the horse on the right side, and I will fall off. Just as I fall, ketch me with all your might. You will know my man, for he is the only one of them that has a red head."

Well, he went, and he must have a great heart, for on they come, gallopin' like mad. Just as the man with the red head's horse came he stood one-side and struck. She fell and he gripped her like iron. Well, such a hullabaloo as there was, was never heard, and all the other men makin' game of the red-headed man.

Well, he brought her home, and they lived for years after, and had a good family, and were the happiest people around the place. I often see some of her children ; of course they are all married now, and gone here and there, but that's as true as my name is Tim Brosnan.—Told by Tim Brosnan, Dungeagan, Co. Kerry.

The Cat.

There is at present living in C——h the subject of this, which I am going to tell you, a fine, decent and sensible woman ; you could be talking to her for twelve months, and a bad word about her neighbour you would not hear from her. Well, one night about 8 years ago, she was taking a walk out the road, and she did not notice until the evening began to grow a bit dark. Well, she came to a place called Caherelly, where there is a fort, and an old ruin, and outside the ruin there is a bit of a wall. As she came near the wall, she noticed what she thought was a small cat or pusheen, and as she approached, the cat came of a jump down on the ground, and began to get big, until it got that big that it blocked the road. The fright she got caused her to faint, and there she remained until a man, with a

poney and trap, was passing, and brought her home. I know that from that night, for over twelve months after, she was out of her mind, and knew nobody. 'Tis only about two years since she began to do business, as she done before this happened. The place had always an airy [queer] name and 'tis very few that would like to pass it after night fall.

She is alive, and as well as ever now, thank God! and likely to live for years, and has a fine family of sons and daughters, and doing a good business in the village.—Told by MARTIN KENNEDY, Highpark, Co. Limerick.

The Dead Hunt.

Now this occurred only about fifty years ago. The Cahirconlish domain, as 'tis called, but is now in allotments, was owened by a man named Wilson, a good man, as I hear, for he used to give the tenants around the place the hay for nothing, but to cut and save it themselves.

Well, there was one man, the name of Hannan, who got about an acre or so, and the time being busy with the harvest, he used to rise early and cut it, and then, when his day was down in his other employment, he would go at it agin.

Well, sir, 'twas a splendid night in August and the moon was shining grand, when Tom Hannan woke, and says to his wife: "I think I'll get up and finish that bit of hay." So up he gets and goes to the spot where the hay was.

He was not long there, when he heard the tramping of horses, and the howling of dogs. "It must be late," says he, "I suppose they are going to Limerick," when all of a sudden hundreds of horses and men came into the place where he was. He ran and got under a cock of hay, and he thought he would be tramped to death every minute, for they were that near him that he could hear the creaking of the saddles.

When all was quiet again, he crawled out and across the road on his hands and knees, and knocked at the lodge door. The tenant at the time was James Murnane, he opened the door, and was surprised to see Tom so early. He happened to have a drop in the house, or 'twould be the last of Tom. So he up

and told Murnane all he saw. "Wisha," says Murnane, "I hear them every night in the week and take no notice of them."

It was but half past one then, so it must be only about twelve when he went out to save the hay. Many and many a time before he died I heard him tell about it, and there is sons of his, and Murnane's, in the village that can prove it. The Lord be good to his soul! many a drink my father and he had together. —Told by R. Walsh, Caherconlish, Co. Limerick.

OBITUARY.

DR. H. B. WHEATLEY.

We regret to announce the death on 30th April, 1917, at Hampstead, of Dr. Henry Benjamin Wheatley, D.C.L., F.S.A., who joined the Folk-Lore Society in 1883. He was in his 79th year, served as clerk to the Royal Society from 1861 to 1879, and as assistant secretary to the Society of Arts from 1879 to 1908. He was long associated with the Early English Text Society; he had been president of the Samuel Pepys Club, the Prior and Johnson Clubs, the Sette of Odd Volumes, and the Bibliographical Society. His chief work was the edition of Pepys's *Diary* reprinted from a new collation of the original text, and illustrated by a series of admirable notes and a valuable volume of *Pepysiana*. His knowledge of London, particularly during the Stuart period, was remarkable, and his revised and largely extended edition of Peter Cunningham's *Handbook*, under the title of *London Past and Present*, published in 1891, remains the best account of the literary and historical associations of the Metropolis. He served for many years on the Council of the Folk-Lore Society, and as chairman of the committee appointed to collect materials for a new edition of Brand's *Observations on Popular Antiquities*, he did valuable service. The last paper from his pen, "The Folk-Lore of Shakespeare," appeared in *Folk-Lore*, 1916, vol. xxvii.

W. Crooke.

REVIEWS.

THE DRAMA OF SAVAGE PEOPLES. By L. HAVEMEYER. Newhaven: Yale University Press. 1916. 7s. 6d. net.

THE author endeavours to show that savage drama is the "lineal antecedent of all modern forms." He finds that there are practically no races so low in the scale of civilization as not to have some kind of drama. He apparently seeks to reduce the development of drama to three main stages, namely, dramatic narrative, religious ceremonial, and the "pleasure play." "Evidence," he says, "seems to prove that the first practical use to which the savage put imitation (for it was then too simple to come under the head of drama) was to convey to his friends ideas and thoughts for which his inadequate spoken language had no words. This may be called dramatic narrative." In the second stage a religious element has come in, and the purpose of the ceremony is to enable the people to communicate with powerful and mysterious beings, and to gain their favour. A further development results in the decline of the religious element, while the function of the performance, be it dance or play, is merely to amuse.

That the third of these stages tends to supervene on the second, in other words that a purely aesthetic interest develops out of the religious, may be allowed. It is far more open to question, however, whether he is right about his preliminary stage. He seems to think that the magico-religious ritual may be resolved into a sort of gesture-language addressed to a divinity. Thus he states that "in Australia man exerts no efforts as far as agriculture is concerned, but still the gods are asked to send an abundance of rain." Surely this is apt to convey an utterly false impression in regard to the nature and function of the so-called Intichiuma

ceremonies. The performers evidently believe that they themselves bring about the increase of the food supply; or at any rate that they set free a mystic power inherent in the rite as such. There are no signs of any appeal to a god. The ceremonies are not only mimetic, but in a sense directly "productive." The members of the witchetty grub totem, for instance, go through the actions representing the growth and development of the grub, and believe that in this way a plentiful supply is obtained. Should the result be unsatisfactory this is attributed to some omission in the ceremony—some fault in the actors. The purport of the rain-making ceremonies, though somewhat more obscure, is evidently the same in principle. Compare the explanation given by Sir James Frazer in *The Golden Bough* (3rd ed. i. 261).

Altogether, one is inclined to suspect that Dr. Havemeyer has not given much study to the psychology of the drama. It is significant that he makes no mention of *The Origins of Art*, by Yrjo Hirn, in which the psychological aspect of art is so well treated. On the other hand, he seems to lay stress on the euhemeristic origin of some forms of drama, and in this way approximates to the standpoint of Professor Ridgeway. It is true that he does not refer to Professor Ridgeway's latest book on the subject, *Dramas and Dramatic Dances*, although he would probably agree with some of the views expressed there. But it is possible that Dr. Havemeyer's book was already in the press when Professor Ridgeway's work appeared.

C. Jenkinson.

Books for Review should be addressed to
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c/o Messrs. Sidgwick & Jackson, Ltd.
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Folk-Lore.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE FOLK-LORE SOCIETY.

VOL. XXVIII.] SEPTEMBER, 1917. [No. III.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 16th, 1917.

THE PRESIDENT (DR. R. R. MARETT) IN THE CHAIR.

THE minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

The Chairman referred to the death of Dr. H. B. Wheatley, who had been a distinguished member of the Society from its early days, and it was resolved that a letter be written to his family expressing the sympathy of the Society with them in their bereavement.

A paper entitled "The Bird Cult and Glyphs of Easter Island" was read by Mrs. Scoresby Routledge, and in the discussion which followed, Mr. Skinner, Mr. H. Balfour, and the Chairman took part. The paper was profusely illustrated by lantern slides: and a slide was also shown by Mr. Skinner.

The meeting terminated with a hearty vote of thanks to Mrs. Scoresby Routledge for her paper.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 13th, 1917.

THE PRESIDENT (DR. R. R. MARETT) IN THE CHAIR.

THE minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

The Secretary read a letter from Mr. George Wheatley, dated the 20th May, acknowledging the vote of condolence passed at the last meeting.

Dr. Jevons read a paper entitled "Magic and Religion," and in the discussion which followed, the Chairman, Sir J. Frazer, Mrs. Scoresby Routledge, and Dr. Gaster took part.

The meeting terminated with a hearty vote of thanks to Dr. Jevons for his paper.

The following books, pamphlets, and periodicals have been presented to the Society during the Session 1916-17, viz:

The Ogboni and other Secret Societies in Nigeria, and *The African Table of Periodic Law*, by R. E. Dennett, presented by the Author; *Rudimentary Grammar of the Sema Naga Language*, by J. H. Hulton, I.C.S., presented by the Government of Assam; *The Folk Tales of the Kiwai Papuans*, by G. Landtman, Ph.D., presented by the Author; *The 29th and 30th Annual Reports* (1907-8 and 1908-9) *of the Bureau of American Ethnology*; and *Ethnobotany of the Tewa Indians*, by W. W. Robbins, J. P. Harrington and B. Freire Marreco, presented by the Bureau; *Southern India, its History, People, Commerce and Industrial Resources*, by Somerset Playne, F.R.G.S., presented by the Author; *Elementary Grammar of the Ibo Language*, by J. Spencer, presented by the Author; *The Korea Magazine*, February to May 1917, presented by the Editor; *The Island of Formosa and its Primitive Inhabitants*, by S. Ishii, presented by the Author; *The Journal of the Hyderabad Archæological Society*, July 1916, presented by the Society; *Harpoons and Darts in the Stefansson Collection*, by Clark Wissler, *The Whale House of the Chilkat*, by G. T.

Emmous, *Peruvian Fabrics*, by M. D. C. Crawford, and *Basketry of the Papays and Pima*, by M. Lois Kissell, presented by the American Museum of Natural History; *Iroquois Foods and Food Preparation*, by F. W. Waugh, and *Time Perspective in Aboriginal American Culture, a Study in Method*, by E. Sapir, presented by the Department of Mines, Canada; *Egyptian Agricultural Products*, by G. C. Dudgeon, F.E.S., presented by the Ministry of Agriculture, Egypt; *Old Mother Hubbard*, by L. Moon, F.R. Hist. S., presented by the Author; *Bulleti del Centre Excursionista de Catalunga*, December 1916, and January and February 1917, presented by the Society; *Archæological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1914-15, presented by the Government of India; *Progress Report, Archæological Survey of India, Western Circle*, presented by the Government of Bombay; *South Indian Images of Gods and Goddesses*, by H. Krishna Sastri, B.A.; *Progress Report of the Assistant Archæological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle*, and *Annual Report of the Archæological Department, Southern Circle*, 1915-16, presented by the Government of Madras; *Annual Report of the Mysore Archæological Department*, 1916, presented by the Government of Mysore; *Annual Progress Report*, 1916, *Hindu and Buddhist Monuments, Northern Circle*, presented by the Government of Bombay; *Annual Archæological Report of His Highness the Nizam's Dominions*, 1914-15.

ORGANISATIONS OF WITCHES IN GREAT BRITAIN.

BY M. A. MURRAY.

(*Read before the Society, April* 18, 1917.)

Witch cult and ritual have not yet, as far as I am aware, been subjected to a searching scientific investigation from the anthropological side. The whole thing has generally been put down to hypnotism, hysteria, and hallucination on the part of the witches, to prejudice and cruelty on the part of the judges. I shall try to prove that the hysteria-cum-prejudice theory, including that blessed word "auto-suggestion," is untenable, and that among the witches we have the remains of a fully organised religious cult, which at one time was spread over Central and Western Europe, and of which traces are found at the present day.

I am not concerned with Operative Witchcraft or the effects, real or imaginary, of witch-charms, nor with the magical powers claimed by the witches, such as flying through the air and transformation into animals. It is the organisation and the cult, which I am about to describe.

Its organisation was recognised by the Roman Catholic Church which speaks of it as a sect; [1] and in its latest stages in America, Cotton Mather is able to say with truth, "the *Witches* do say, that they form themselves much after the manner of *Congregational Churches*, and that they

[1] Decretal of Pope Adrian IV., 1523.

have a *Baptism*, and a *Supper*, and *Officers* among them, abominably resembling those of our Lord." [1]

It is obvious to anyone who considers the matter that the conversion of the heathen tribes of Great Britain must have been a long process. Kings and nobles might follow the new religion, but for the mass of the people Christianity must have been a mere veneer for several centuries. As Christianity took a firmer and firmer hold, the old paganism was either more and more relegated to country places and to the lower classes of the community; or else by dropping the gross forms, its ritual remained as rustic festivals patronised by the Church.

I give here, in chronological order, extracts from various sources showing the historical continuity of the ancient religion. The laws became stricter as Christianity increased in power.

Strabo says that, in an island close to Britain, Ceres and Proserpine were venerated with rites similar to the orgies of Samothrace.[2] Dionysius states that the rites of Bacchus were duly celebrated in the British Isles.[3] This is evidence that fertility rites were celebrated in Britain which had a close resemblance to those of Greece and Asia Minor.

The conversion of Britain took place during the 7th century; and the Christian ecclesiastical writers, from whom our knowledge of the consecutive history of the period is derived, write with a bias in favour of their own religion, ignoring the existence of the underlying paganism. But the following extracts from contemporary documents show its continuance:

7th cent. *Liber Poenitentialis of Theodore, Archibishop of Canterbury.*

1. Sacrifice to devils.

[1] Cotton Mather, *Wonders of the Invisible World*, p. 160, ed. 1862. The Swedish witches also said that the Devil had a church at Blockula, Horneck in Glanvil's *Sadducismus Triumphatus*, pt. ii. p. 324, ed. 1681.

[2] Strabo, *Geog.* iv. 4.

[3] Dionysius, *Periegesis*, v. 565.

2. Eating and drinking in the heathen temple, (*a*) in ignorance, (*b*) after being told by the priest that it is sacrilege and the table of devils, (*c*) as a cult of devils and in honour of idols.

5. Not only celebrating feasts in the abominable places of the heathen and offering food there, but also consuming it.

7. Anyone found serving this hidden idolatry, having relinquished Christ, and given himself up to idolatry.

19. If anyone at the kalends of January goes about as a stag or a bull ; that is, making himself into a wild animal, and dressing in the skin of a herd animal, and putting on the heads of beasts ; those who in such wise transform themselves into the appearance of a wild animal, penance for three years ; because this is devilish.

7th cent. *Laws of King Wihtraed.*

Fines for offerings to devils.

8th cent. *Ecgbert, Archbishop of York, Confessionale.*

Against offerings to devils. Witchcraft. Auguries according to the methods of the heathen. Vows paid or loosed or confirmed at wells, stones, and trees. Gathering of herbs with any incantation except Christian prayers.

8th cent. *Law of the Northumbrian Priests.*

48. If then anyone be found that shall henceforth practise any heathenships, either by sacrifice or by fyrt, or in any way love witchcraft, or worship idols, if he be a king's thane, let him pay x half-marks ; half to Christ, half to the king.

67. We are all to love and worship one God, and strictly hold one Christianity, and totally renounce all heathenship.

9th cent. *Decree attributed to a Council of Anquira.*

Some wicked women, reverting to Satan, and seduced by the illusions and phantasms of demons, believe and profess that they ride at night with *Diana* on certain beasts, with an innumerable multitude of women, passing over

immense distances, obeying her commands as their mistress, and evoked by her on certain nights.

9th and 10th cent. *Laws of Alfred and Guthrun. Laws of Edward and Guthrun.*

11. If witches or diviners, perjurers or morth-workers, or foul defiled notorious adulteresses, be found anywhere within the land; let them then be driven from the country and the people cleansed, or let them totally perish within the country, unless they desist, and the more deeply make *bot.*

2. If any one violate Christianity, or reverence heathenism, by word or by work, let him pay as well *wēr*, as *wite* or *lah-slit*, according as the deed may be.

10th cent. *Laws of Athelstan.*[1]

6. We have ordained respecting witchcrafts, and lyblacs, and morth-daeds: if any one should be thereby killed, and he could not deny it, that he be liable in his life. But if he will deny it, and at the threefold ordeal shall be guilty; that he be cxx days in prison; and after that let his kindred take him out, and give to the king cxx shillings, and pay the *wer* to his kindred, and enter into borh for him, that he evermore desist from the like.

10th cent. *King Edgar. Ecclesiastical Canons.*

16. We enjoin, that every priest zealously promote Christianity, and totally extinguish every heathenism; and forbid well-worshipings, and necromancies, and divinations, and enchantments, and man-worshipings, and the vain practices which are carried on with various spells, and with frith-splots and with elders, and also with various other trees, and with stones, and with many various delusions, with which men do much of what they should not.

17. And we enjoin, that every Christian man zealously

[1] It is in the laws of Athelstan that the method of ordeal by water is fully described. The "swimming" of witches was the survival of this ordeal.

accustom his children to Christianity, and teach them the Paternoster and the Creed.

18. And we enjoin, that on feast-days heathen songs and devil's games be abstained from.

10th cent. *Laws of Ethelred.*

Let every Christian man do as is needful to him; let him strictly keep his Christianity.

Let us zealously venerate right Christianity, and totally despise every heathenism.

11th cent. *Laws of Cnut.*

5. We earnestly forbid every heathenism: heathenism is, that men worship idols; that is, that they worship heathen gods, and the sun or the moon, fire or rivers, water-wells or stones, or forest trees of any kind; or love witchcraft, or promote morthwork in any wise.

12th cent. *John of Salisbury.*

Mentions witches' Sabbaths.

13th cent. *Galilee porches, for the use of the* unbaptised *and excommunicate, no longer built.*

14th cent. *Nider's Formicarius.*

Berne infested with witches for more than sixty years.

Inquisition of Como in 1510, records that witches had existed there for more than 150 years.

Dame Alice Kyteler, tried for witchcraft, 1324. Devil appeared as a black man. Had in her possession a wafer bearing the devil's name instead of Christ's.

15th cent.

Trials of witches in Italy, France, and Germany. The characteristic features of the ritual are found.

15th cent.

Decree of Innocent VIII.[1] Generally said to be the beginning of the "outbreak" of witchcraft.

It has come to our ears . . . that many persons of

[1] It is worth noting that in this decree the work of the witches is supposed to be directed against fertility only.

both sexes, deviating from the Catholic faith, do not avoid to have intercourse with devils, incubi and succubi, and that by their incantations, charms, and sorceries, they blight the marriage bed, destroy the births of women, and the increase of cattle; they blast the corn of the ground, the grapes of the vineyard, the fruits of the trees, besides causing to perish, suffocating and destroying men and women, flocks and herds and other kinds of animals, vines as well as orchard-trees, pasture, grass, corn and other fruits of the earth.

Lord Coke defines a witch as "a person that hath conference with the devil, to consult with him or to do some act." It is in this aspect only that I propose to consider the witch.

It is impossible to understand the cult without first understanding the position of the chief personage in the proceedings. He was known to the contemporary Christian judges and Christian writers as the Devil; was called by them Satan, Lucifer, Beelzebub, the Foul Fiend, and similar names; and was entirely identified by them with the Principle of Evil, the devil of the Scriptures. But this was very far from the point of view of the witches themselves. To them this so-called Devil was God,[1] manifest, visible, incarnate; they adored him on their knees[2]; they addressed their prayers to him[3]; they offered thanks to him as the giver of food[4] and the neces-

[1] Pitcairn, *Criminal Trials*, iii. p. 605. Bodin, *Demonomanie*, p. 148, Lyons, 1593. De Lancre, *Tableau de l'Inconstance*, p. 126. Danaeus, *Dialogue of Witches*, ch. ii. ed. 1575. Webster, *Displaying of Supposed Witchcraft*, pp. 347-9.

[2] Hale, *Collection of Modern Relations*, p. 58, ed. 1693. Pitcairn, *op. cit.* iii. p. 609. Begg in *Proc. Soc. of Antiquaries of Scotland*, New Series, x. p. 238.

[3] Boguet, *Discours des Sorciers*, ch. ix. p. 54, Lyons, 1608. *Wonderfull Discouerie of Elizabeth Sawyer*, London, 1611.

[4] De Lancre, *op. cit.* p. 197. Pitcairn, *op. cit.* iii. p. 612. Begg, *op. cit.* p. 238.

sities of life; they gave their children to him.[1] The actual name by which he was known to his worshippers varies in every district; in some, each witch of the covine called him by a special name [2]; in others he was known by the same name to every witch within his circle. But as the records rarely extend beyond the one trial in each county or district of a county, there is no continuity in the history of any one community, and it is not possible to say whether either custom was the rule in the place in which it was practised, nor whether the name which all the witches knew was applied to the individual or to the office; whether, for example, the witches of Aberdeen [3] always called their chiefs "Christsonday," or whether the little crippled man, whom Christen Michell saw, was the only one known by that name.

This chief or Devil was, as God incarnate, absolutely supreme over his followers; they were bound to obey his lightest command. On his side, there were certain duties to perform; he instructed the witches in magical arts,[4] both for curing and killing; he helped them when in difficulties if they called upon him [5]; he presided at the Sabbaths, where he conducted the religious service; and

[1] De Lancre, *op. cit.* pp. 129, 131. Sharpe, *Historical Account of Witchcraft in Scotland*, p. 146, ed. 1884. Reg. Scot, *Discouerie of Witchcraft*, Bk. ii. ch. xi. ed. 1584. Horneck in Glanvil's *Sadduicsmus Triumphatus*, ii. p. 318, ed. 1681.

[2] Begg, *op. cit.* pp. 221, 224, 227, 228, 231, 234, 237.

[3] *Spalding Club Miscellany*, i. pp. 125, 170-2.

[4] Pitcairn, *op. cit.* i. pt. ii. pp. 51-6, pt. iii. pp. 210-2, 230. Sinclair, *Satan's Invisible World Discovered*, pp. 122-3. Reg. Scot, *Discouerie of Witchcraft*, Bk. iii. ch. 2, 3. Glanvil, *Sadducismus Triumphatus*, pt. ii. pp. 293-5. Isobel Gowdie's confessions give most detail; see Pitcairn, *op. cit.* iii. pp. 602-14.

[5] Glanvil, *op. cit.* pt. ii. p. 137. *Spottiswoode Miscellany*, ii. p. 56. Pitcairn, *op. cit.* i. pt. ii. pp. 51-6, pt. iii. p. 230.

he often led the dance [1] which being a fertility-rite, must be looked upon as part of an early and primitive cult. He sometimes, though not always, attended the local meetings,[2] but as these were not so important as the Sabbaths his presence could be dispensed with.

We knew nothing as to how he was appointed and his identity was always studiously concealed, but on a few occasions we get a glimpse of a real personality; sometimes this proves to be a person of some political importance. *Eg.* at North Berwick [3] where the witch-community was destroyed, root and branch, on account of their attempt on the King's life [James VI. our James I.], the evidence points to Francis Earl Bothwell as the chief or Devil. Bothwell was grandson of James V. and nephew of the Regent Moray, and in spite of the bar sinister he was practically the next male heir to the throne of Scotland had our King James died without children. Of less importance but also political is a list of suspected persons [4] in the reign of Elizabeth; among them are several witches and "Ould Birtles the great devil." In 1649 a man named Marsh of Dunstable [5] is identified by George Palmer, who had himself been a witch for nearly 60 years, as "the head of the whole College of Witches that hee knows in the world." Altogether I have been able to identify eight or nine men, but with more time and trouble it would be possible to identify several more.

The appearance of the devil is often given in great detail. He was said to appear usually as a man, a bull, a goat, and a dog. As a man he was usually dressed in black, apparently garbed like the clergy of the period;

[1] Sinclair, *op. cit.* p. 163. Pitcairn, *op. cit.* iii. p. 606. De Lancre, *op. cit.* p. 212. R. Scot, *op. cit.* Bk. iii. ch. 3.

[2] Pitcairn, *op. cit.* iii. p. 617.

[3] Pitcairn, *op. cit.* i. pt. iii. p. 230. Sir J. Melville, *Memoirs*, p. 395.

[4] *Catalogue of State Papers, Domestic*, 1584.

[5] Gerish, *The Divel's Delusions*, pp. 5, 11.

but in the outlying districts of Scotland, where more primitive customs prevailed, he was clothed in green,[1] or gray,[2] or dun-coloured [3] garments. But it is evident that he went to the Sabbath disguised, and he was also seen in disguise at other times. In Southern France he is said to have had a face at the back of the head "like the God Janus" [4]; or with a goat's face in front and another goat's face under the tail.[4] The rank of the witch in the society was shown by which face he or she was permitted to kiss at the Sabbath. That the face at the back was a mask is very certain, for all the witches agree that it was hard and cold and that the Devil never spoke from it. There are also strong indications that the face at the front was often a mask also, for whenever the Devil's voice is mentioned whether in Great Britain [5] or France,[6] it is said to be hollow with indistinct articulation like the sound of a voice under a mask. What may perhaps be proof of this disguise is still extant in the "Dorsetshire Ooser," [7] a wooden mask representing a man's face with ox's horns, the jaw is movable to allow the wearer to speak; it is said to have been worn by a man wrapped in a cow's skin, who ran after the girls. Another survival which seems to point in the same direction is the so-called

[1] Kinloch and Baxter, *Reliquiae Antiquae Scoticae*, p. 124, Forfar. Pitcairn, *op. cit.* iii. p. 601, Dalkeith.

[2] *Spottiswoode Miscellany*, ii. p. 62, East Lothian. Pitcairn, *op. cit.* i. pt. ii. pp. 51-6, Ayrshire. Begg, *Proc. Soc. of Antiquaries of Scotland*, New Series, x. pp. 221, 239.

[3] Begg, *op. cit.* pp. 228, 232, Kinross-shire.

[4] De Lancre, *Tableau*, p. 68.

[5] Glanvil, *Sadducismus Triumphatus*, pt. ii. pp. 162-5, 293-5. *Examination of Certain Witches at Chelmsford*, p. 25, Philobiblon Society, viii. Melville, *Mem.* p. 395.

[6] De Lancre, *op. cit.* p. 398. Boguet, *Discours des Sorciers*, p. 57, Lyons, 1608.

[7] Dorsetshire, *Somerset and Dorset Notes and Queries*, 1891, p. 289. Elworthy, *Horns of Honour*, p. 139.

Cadi in Wales, a country where, as far as I know, the ancient ritual of the witches was never suppressed.

The two-faced deity is of great importance and of great antiquity. I am indebted to Mr. Peake and Prof. Fleure for calling my attention to a two-faced deity of ancient Britain in the Roman period, and also to the reference in Geoffrey [1] of Monmouth, who says, speaking of Cordelia, daughter of King Lear "in the third year thereafter he died and Aganippus died also, and Cordelia, now mistress of the helm of state in Britain, buried her father in a certain underground chamber which she had bidden to be made under the river Soar at Leicester. This underground chamber was founded in honour of the two-faced god Janus, and there, when the yearly celebration of the day came round, did all the workmen of the city set hand upon such work as they were about to be busied upon throughout the year." Cordelia, according to Geoffrey, died before the foundation of Rome by Romulus; in other words the tradition of the queen and the worship of the two-faced god date back to pre-Roman Britain.

The identification of this two-faced god with Janus and the statement that the Devil or God of the witches was also two-faced like Janus should be taken together. I am not prepared to prove that the worship of Janus continued down to the 17th century, but I would call your attention to the following points:

1. Janus or Dianus is the male form of Diana, with whom the witches were accused of riding through the air and following in the dance. Diana was always the female leader of the witches.
2. Janus was an ancient indigenous god of Northern Italy before the Romans came in. His city was a ruin, hoary with age, when Aeneas arrived in Italy.

[1] *Geoffrey of Monmouth*, Bk. ii. ch. 14.

3. According to the Romans themselves, Janus was one of the few gods who had no counterpart in the Greek pantheon.
4. His epithets were Clusivius and Patulcius, the opener and the closer, *i.e.* of the womb.[1]
5. His name, and his name only, was invoked by the Salian dancing priests, when they ran naked through the streets in the great fertility festival of the Lupercalia.
6. As the first of all gods, as the god of beginnings [hence, of course, of birth] his name was invoked before that of Jupiter himself in all prayers and invocations.
7. His priest was the Rex Sacrorum, who took precedence even of the great Flamen Dialis.
8. As Janus Quadrifrons he presided over cross-roads. It must surely be more than a coincidence that the Italian two-faced god of fertility should be the patron of cross-roads, and that the two-faced god of the witches should preside over fertility rites which were celebrated at cross-roads.

Another proof of the antiquity of the witch cult is shown by the indications that at some early period, the god of the witches was sacrificed at one of the great Sabbaths.[2] It is not clear whether the sacrifice took place annually or only once in seven years.

In the organisation of the society, there came below the autocratic ruler one or more officers, according to the size of the community. These officers were either men

[1] Roscher, *Lexicon*, ii. 36, article "Janus."

[2] Bodin, *Fléau des Demons*, pp. 187-8, ed. 1616. Boguet, *Discours des Sorciers*, p. 141, ed. 1608. Bourignon, *La Parole de Dieu*, p. 87, ed. 1683. Gerish, *Hertfordshire Folklore*, p. 13. Cannaert, *Olim procès des Sorcières en Belgique*, p. 50, ed. 1847.

or women [1]; in France they are said to be minor devils, *diablotins*.[2] The officers were entrusted with the management and arrangement of all the meetings, they notified the members when and where the local meetings would be held,[3] they kept the records of attendance at the meetings and also of the ceremonials performed,[4] they appear to have arranged for the feasts, they often led the ring in the dance [5] or remained in the rear to make the less agile dancers keep up with the rest,[6] they introduced the new convert,[7] and in France they inflicted the "Devil's mark" on the newly admitted witch.[8]

The Scotch witches and apparently originally the English witches also, were divided into companies, or *covines*, as Isobel Gowdie calls them.[9] The number in a covine was thirteen,[10] twelve witches and the officer, *i.e.* the Devil's dozen. Each covine was independent of any other, but several could meet for any special purpose; for example, at North Berwick there were thirty-nine witches present,[11] three covines. All the covines of a district met together at the great Sabbaths, but as a rule each covine had its own weekly meeting, near the place of residence of the

[1] Woman: Glanvil, *Sadducismus Triumphatus*, pt. ii. p. 291. *Spalding Club Miscellany*, i. p. 142. Potts, *Wonderfull Discouerie of Witches*, ed. 1613. Man: Sinclair, *Satan's Invisible World Discovered*, p. 46. *Spottiswoode Miscellany*, ii. p. 67. Pitcairn, *Criminal Trials*, i. pt. iii. p. 219.

[2] De Lancre, *Tableau*, pp. 73, 124, 147.

[3] R. Scot, *Discoverie of Witchcraft*, Bk. iii. ch. 3. Glanvil, *op. cit.* pt. ii. pp. 293-5. In small places where there were only a few members, the Devil often went round to the houses himself.

[4] Pitcairn, *op. cit.* i. pt. iii. p. 219, iii. p. 613.

[5] *Spalding Club Miscellany*, i. pp. 97-8.

[6] Howell, *State Trials*, vi. 683, quoting Fountainhall's *Decisions*.

[7] Glanvil, *op. cit.* pt. ii. pp. 147, 291.

[8] De Lancre, *op. cit.* p. 194.

[9] Pitcairn, *op. cit.* iii. p. 603.

[10] *Id. ib.* iii. p. 603. Begg, *Proc. Soc. Ant. of Scotland*, N.S. x. p. 212.

[11] Pitcairn, *op. cit.* i. pt. iii. p. 245.

greater number of the members. Among the members of the covine, and usually the youngest, was the Maiden; she was an important personage and had the place of honour beside the Devil at the local meetings and at the feasts.[1] At the performance of any ceremonial at a local meeting, a certain number of witches—originally probably the whole covine—had to be present, and on these occasions the presence of the Maiden was imperative.[2]

The decadence of the cult is shown by the position of this woman. In the French and early Scotch trials there is always a Reine du Sabbat[3] or a Queen of Elfin,[4] who occupies a prominent position. There is reason to believe, as Prof. Karl Pearson has suggested,[5] that the woman was originally the principal personage in the ceremonial, and was a form of the mother-goddess (the vulgar expression of "the Devil's Dam" comes perhaps from this). In Scotland the Queen of Elfin becomes rarer, and the Maiden of the Covine appears to take her place, while in some localities she is merely the Officer. In England, where the whole religion with all its customs was in a decadent condition by the time the records were made, the woman is never anything but the Officer.[6] In America,[7] however, the chief witch had the promise to be "Queen of Hell," presumably Queen of the Assembly.

Though the discipline of each community must have varied according to the individual temperament of its successive chiefs, it seems clear that obedience could be

[1] Glanvil, *Sadd. Triumph.* pt. ii. pp. 139, 140.

[2] Pitcairn, *op. cit.* iii. p. 610. "We doe no great Mater withowt owr Maiden," says Isobel Gowdie.

[3] De Lancre, *L'Incredulité*, p. 36, ed. 1622. *Tableau*, pp. 398-9.

[4] *Spalding Club Miscellany*, i. pp. 119, 170-2. Pitcairn, *op. cit.* i. pt. ii. p. 56, iii. p. 604.

[5] Pearson, *Chances of Death.*

[6] Potts, *Wonderful Discoverie.*

[7] Cotton Mather, *Wonders of the Invisible World*, p. 159, ed. 1862.

rigorously exacted and severe punishments inflicted. Unpunctuality at the meetings or keeping the chief waiting at any time were visited with sharp rebuke,[1] probably because of the implied disrespect. Disrespect in words, continued absence from meetings and actual disobedience were punished by beating.[2] In Auldearne [3] the Devil used a scourge of cords to enforce the respect due to him ; but the instrument of punishment was usually said to be an iron rod.[4] The earliest mention of such a rod is in the trial of Dame Alice Kyteler in 1324, where the Devil, whom she called Robin son of Artis, appeared carrying an iron rod.[5] The tradition, or possibly the actual fact, was carried to America, for Deliverance Hobbs of Salem[6] complains that when she left the witch society she was "whipped with Iron Rods."

Capital punishment was the fate of traitors, and strict precautions were taken to ensure the silence of the members and to protect the chief against spies. In an early account of trials of witches in Italy, the Inquisitor and two other officials watched a witch-meeting from a secret hiding-place ; they were observed however, and at a signal from the Devil his followers seized them and beat them so severely that they died soon after.[7] The Swedish children were also beaten till they died of their injuries if they ventured to say who had taken them to Blockula.[8] Rebecca Weste in Essex was threatened with "more torments in earth than could be in hell," if she dared to

[1] Pitcairn, *Criminal Trials*, i. pt. iii. pp. 217, ii. pp. 542-3.

[2] Lea, *History of the Inquisition*, iii. p. 525. *Spottiswoode Miscellany*, ii. p. 62. Pitcairn, *op. cit.* iii. p. 613.

[3] Pitcairn, *op. cit.* iii. p. 613.

[4] J. Gaule, *Cases of Conscience*, p. 65, London, 1645.

[5] *Proceedings against Dame Alice Kyteler*, Camden Society, p. 2.

[6] Cotton Mather, *Wonders of the Invisible World*, p. 131, ed. 1862.

[7] Lea, *op. cit.* iii. p. 501.

[8] Glanvil, *Sadd. Triumph.* pt. ii. p. 319.

betray the secrets entrusted to her.[1]' The Scotch witch Alesoun Peirsoun[2] was threatened by the people she calls the "good neighbours," that "if she would speak and tell of them and their doings, they would martyr her." Elizabeth Anderson in Renfrewshire[3] was warned by the witches that if she should confess they would "tear her all in pieces." These were not empty threats, for there are two cases in Scotland[4] where the evidence points to the execution of possible traitors by emissaries of the witch society. In the case of John Reid the executioners secretly entered from the outside and hanged the traitor in his cell. The belief that he was made away with by the Devil was thus actually true.

The ritual of admission was a recognised, and in its early stages an elaborate, ceremony; it varied according to the age of the candidate. The children were brought as soon as they could speak, and were presented by the witch kneeling; she said, "Great Lord, whom I adore, I bring you a new servant, who wishes to be your slave for ever." The Devil answered, "Approach," which the witch did on her knees. He received the child in his arms, then returned it to the witch thanking her and directing that the child should be cared for.[5] Children who had reached an age to become active members of the society, or adult converts from Christianity, were admitted by the same ceremony, with the exception that the converts first renounced their baptism and their previous belief. "I first renounce God, then Jesus Christ his Son, the Holy Ghost, the Virgin, the saints, the holy cross, chrism, baptism, and the Faith which I hold, my godfather and god-

[1] Howell, *State Trials*, iv. 842.

[2] Pitcairn, *op. cit.* i. pt. iii. pp. 161-4 (date 1588).

[3] *Narrative of the Sufferings of a Young Girle*, pp. xxxix-xli (date 1696).

[4] Lamont, *Diary*, p. 12. *Narrative of the Sufferings of a Young Girle*, pp. xliv. xlv.

[5] De Lancre, *Tableau de l'Inconstance*, p. 398.

mother, and I place myself at every point in thy power and in thy hands, recognising no other God, for thou art my God and I am thy slave." [1] They then placed one hand on the crown of the head, the other hand to the sole of the foot, and devoted all that was between the two hands to the service of the master. After this the Devil baptised the candidate with water in his own name, and gave her a new name by which she was afterwards known in the society; those who could write signed a covenant with him, those who could not write were marked on some part of the body.[2] There are several variants of this ceremony, some of which may be local, others point to a more primitive origin. *E.g.* in France [3] the witch children at the age of nine prostrated themselves to the ground before the Devil, who flashed fire before their eyes and asked, "What do you wish? Will you be mine?" They answered, "Yes." He asked again, "Do you come of your own free will?" They answered, "Yes." Then he said, "Do as I wish and as I do." Then they repeated the renunciation after the Queen of the Sabbath, kissed the Devil in any part of his person which he directed, and were marked by pricking with a sharp instrument like a pin, the skin being torn to the effusion of blood; the mark in most districts was on the left side or left shoulder, and the pain was often very great. Another variant occurred at Dalkeith (1661) [4] when Janet Watson was admitted; "the Devil laid his hand upon her head and bad her give all over to him that was under his hand." The variant, which to my mind shows a more primitive form, is that in use at Auldearne near Nairn.[5] Both Isobel Gowdie and Janet Breadheid voluntarily confessed to the

[1] *Id. ib.* p. 399.

[2] Forbes, *Institutes of the Law of Scotland*, ii. 32-4, ed. 1730.

[3] De Lancre, *op. cit.* p. 399.

[4] Pitcairn, *Criminal Trials*, iii. 601. Spelling modernised.

[5] Pitcairn, *Criminal Trials*, iii. pp. 603, 617.

ceremony. In this rite the baptism was in the blood of the candidate, the Devil marked her on the left shoulder, from the cut he sucked the blood, then spouted it into his hand and sprinkled it on her head. This form of baptism is perhaps the origin of those stories of blood-sucking familiars which Hutchinson[1] says were peculiar to Great Britain, and which play so large a part in the witch-trials of England. This use of blood is possibly the origin also of the belief that the covenant was signed in blood, for according to Forbes (quoted above) only those who could write were required to sign, while those who could not write received a "flesh-brand." But he also states that those who signed were touched by the devil, though without drawing blood, which appears to point to an original ceremony of marking everyone. In England however the covenant was signed by all converts, those who could not write affixing their mark,[2] and everyone also received the "flesh-brand."

This "flesh-brand" or witches' mark is described by Sir George Mackenzie.[3] "This mark is given them, as is alledg'd, by a Nip in any part of the Body, and it is blew: *Delrio* calls it *Stigma*, or Character, and alledges that it is sometimes like the Impression of a Hare's foot, or the Foot of a Rat, or Spider." Forbes[4] says that it "is like a Flea Bite or blew Spot, and sometimes resembles a little Teat." The mysterious property of these marks was that they were said to be insensible, and when pricked or cut that they did not bleed. From the description of their infliction some of them appear to be a form of tattoo-

[1] Hutchinson, *Historical Essay*, p. 77, ed. 1720. In Belgium the Devil and the witch drank each other's blood: "Après avoir donné à boire de son sang à Satan, et avoir bu du sien" (Cannaert, *Olim procès des Sorcières*, p. 48, ed. 1847).

[2] Glanvil, *Sadducismus Triumphatus*, pt. ii. pp. 136, 148, ed. 1681.

[3] Mackenzie, *Laws and Customs of Scotland*, pp. 47-8, ed. 1699.

[4] Forbes, *Institutes of the Law of Scotland*, ii. pp. 32-4, ed. 1730.

ing. The breaking of the skin was done by a "Nip" from the Devil's hand, which may mean that he inflicted it with a sharp instrument, for both in France and England we find that the witch was pricked with a pin [1] or a sharp bone.[2] These pricks, which were followed by effusion of blood, were often painful for many days or even weeks, and the Devil usually passed his hand over the broken skin.

There is one point as regards the Devil's marks which helps to disprove the hysteria-hallucination theory, and that is a certain kind of "teat" found on the bodies of some of the witches, as well male as female. All anatomists are aware that in the human being "throw-backs" to the animal ancestor sometimes occur. One of these throw-backs is a supernumerary nipple, which appears under the arms [3] or on the front of the body. These are not common, but again they are not very rare, and they occur in both sexes. In the account of the excrescences found on the witches it is clear that several are examples of polymastia [4]: so much so that the case of the witch Rose Cullender in Suffolk can [5] be exactly paralleled by a modern instance described by Williams [6]; the parallel is exact in all the details even down to the events which preceded the discovery of the nipple by the woman herself. It is interesting to note that in England witches who possessed natural marks such as these were considered inferior to those who were marked by pricking.[7]

[1] De Lancre, *Tableau de l'Inconstance*, p. 399, ed. 1613. Howell, *State Trials*, iv. 854.

[2] Webster, *Displaying of Supposed Witchcraft*, pp. 347-9 (date 1633).

[3] Cp. Reg. Scot, *Discoverie of Witchcraft*, Bk. ii. ch. 5, ed. 1504: "If she have anie privie marke under hir arme pokes."

[4] Gerish, *Relation of Mary Hall*, p. 24. Howell, *State Trials*, vi. 696. Bower, *Dr. Lamb Revived*, p. 28, London, 1653.

[5] Howell, *op. cit.* vi. 696.

[6] Williams, *Journal of Anatomy*, xxv. p. 249.

[7] Webster, *Displaying of Supposed Witchcraft*, p. 349.

One detail in the ceremony of admission appears to be of late date, and not to belong to the original ritual; and that is the reward given to witches who brought new members into the society, or to the converts themselves when of adult age. The amount varied greatly; in France[1] ten or twenty crowns or even a handful of gold were paid to the witch-missionary. In Great Britain[2] the money was evidently regarded as an earnest of the wealth and fertility to follow. It was usually "good and sufficient Money," though a few instances occur of its being changed, like fairy gold, into rubbish.[3]

It is often objected that, though the witches gave up everything, they got nothing out of their contract with the Devil; yet it is quite clear that both men and women, young and old, entered into it very willingly. They promised absolute obedience and fidelity, and the greater number carried out their part of the contract to the end; for the number of witches who died "blaspheming and impenitent" was very great.[4] The Devil was looked upon by the witches, and even by himself, as the incarnate God, and this point of view must be kept in mind when studying the cult. It seems to be that cult of "man-worshiping" which was so strictly forbidden in the Ecclesiastical Canons of King Edgar. The attitude of mind of the witches is best expressed by de Lancre,[5] though it can be seen in the accounts in Great Britain: "When they

[1] De Lancre, *Tableau de l'Inconstance*, pp. 70, 131.

[2] Glanvil, *Sadducismus Triumphatus*, pt. ii. pp. 136, 148, 157. Chambers, *Domestic Annals*, ii. p. 278. *Spottiswoode Miscellany*, ii. p. 62. Sinclair, *Satan's Invisible World Discovered*, p. lxxxix, p. 161, ed. 1871. Kinloch and Baxter, *Reliquiae Antiquae Scoticae*, pp. 132-3.

[3] *Spottiswoode Miscellany*, ii. p. 70. Pitcairn, *Criminal Trials*, iii. pp. 613, 617.

[4] Note specially Rebecca West and Rose Hallybread, *Full Tryals of Notorious Witches*, p. 8. Also Major Weir, Arnot, *Criminal Trials*, pp. 359-60, *Records of the Justiciary Court of Edinburgh*, ii. p. 14.

[5] De Lancre, *op. cit.* p. 133.

[the witches] are seized by Justice, they neither weep nor shed a single tear, for their false martyrdom, whether by torture or the gallows, is so pleasant to them that many of them weary to be put to death ; and suffer very joyously when they face the trial, so much do they weary that they are not with the Devil. And they are impatient of nothing so much in their prison as that they cannot testify to him how much they suffer and desire to suffer for him."

The meetings of the witches were of two classes, the sabbath and the esbat.[1] The esbat was a local meeting, held near a village, and attended only by the village people. It was at these local meetings that the various enchantments for individual and local purposes were performed. Thus at North Berwick [2] the witches met at the Kirk for the express purpose of destroying the King —James VI. of Scotland, our James I.—by making a wax image of him, and in case that failed, they were instructed in the making of poison to effect their end. In Somerset [3] the witches met to make images to cause the death of an enemy ; in Lancashire [4] they met to arrange the escape of one of their number from prison. The admission of a candidate also took place at the local meetings, though this was a ceremony which might be performed in private with only the sponsors present, or even at the Sabbath in the presence of the whole congregation. At Auldearne Isobel Gowdie,[5] whose confession was entirely voluntary, gives a description of a ceremony which is not only interesting in itself, but also shows what the original object of these meetings may have been. The ceremony, as she describes it, was one for blasting fertility by means of a mock plough. The Devil held the plough, the officer

[1] De Lancre, *Tableau de l'Inconstance*, p. 123, ed. 1613.

[2] Pitcairn, *Criminal Trials*, i. pt. iii. pp. 245-6. Melville, *Memoirs*, p. 395.

[3] Glanvil, *Sadducismus Triumphatus*, pt. ii. pp. 137-8, *passim*.

[4] Potts, *Wonderfull Discoverie*.

[5] Pitcairn, *Criminal Trials*, iii. p. 603.

of the *covine* drove, toads drew the plough, the trace-chains were of couch grass, and a gelded animal's horn formed the plough-share. The *covine*, or squad, of witches surrounded the plough, moving as it moved and repeating incantations. In this ceremony the objects used connoted barrenness; but as the witches were acknowledged to have the double power of causing and blasting fertility, this seems to be a fertility charm reversed; and the original cause of these local meetings was in all probability the promotion of fertility among the flocks and crops of the members.

The local meetings often ended with feasting and dancing, and were sometimes, though not always, kept up till cock-crow.[1]

Everything, which was done at a local meeting, was noted by the officer and reported at the great assembly, or Sabbath, where it was entered in the Devil's book.[2]

The Sabbaths were the important meetings, and were held four times in the year; the dates being Candlemas, February 2, Roodmas or Holy Cross Day, Lammas, August 1, and Hallowmas, October 31. Roodmas falls on May 3, but from the indications it would appear that the date of the Sabbath in Great Britain was originally the same as in Germany, namely Walpurgis Nacht, or April 30; in Bavaria it may be noted that Walpurgis Day was May 2. It is then clear that the Sabbaths were held on the four "cross-quarter" days, *i.e.* the quarter days of the May-November year. Frazer[3] notes that the division of the year at these points has nothing to do with the solstices or equinoxes, and therefore though of little moment to agriculture is of the utmost importance to the European herdsman, "for it is on the approach of summer that

[1] Marie Lamont came home "in the dawing." Sharpe, *Witchcraft in Scotland*, 130-4. De Lancre, *op. cit.* p. 147.

[2] Pitcairn, *op. cit.* iii. 613.

[3] Frazer, *Balder the Beautiful*, i. 223.

he drives his cattle out into the open to crop the fresh grass, and it is on the approach of winter that he leads them back to the safety and shelter of the stall. Accordingly it seems not improbable that the Celtic bisection of the year into two halves at the beginning of May and the beginning of November dates from a time when the Celts were mainly a pastoral people dependent for their subsistence on their herds, and when accordingly the great epochs of the year for them were the days on which the cattle went forth from the homestead in early summer, and returned to it again in early winter."

The witch ceremonies have to do chiefly with cattle. The Devil often appeared at the meetings, both Sabbath and esbat, either in the form of a herd animal—goat, sheep, or bull,[1]—or else in a rough shaggy garment, apparently intended to represent the animal, as the tail is often a marked feature. In these forms he received the homage of his worshippers as the incarnate God.[2] Much of the witch lore related to cattle; there were spells for laying on and taking off cattle diseases, as well as magical means for obtaining milk, and one of the few writings of the Devil, of which we have any real knowledge, was the Red Book of Appin,[3] a book which was stolen from the witches and was so magical that the owner had to wear a hoop of iron on his head when he ventured to open its pages; the contents of the book were entirely cattle charms. The feast at the Sabbath always consisted of roast meat,[4] either ox or sheep flesh.

[1] Goat: De Lancre, *Tableau de l'Inconstance des mauvais Anges*, p. 68 *et pass.* Sheep: *Spalding Club Miscellany*, i. 129. Bull: De Lancre, *op. cit.* p. 68. Pitcairn, *Criminal Trials*, iii. p. 613.

[2] Pitcairn, *op. cit.* iii. 612.

[3] J. G. Campbell, *Superstitions of the Highlands*, p. 293.

[4] Glanvil, *Sadducismus Triumphatus*, pt. ii. pp. 139-141 *et pass.* ed. 1681. Reg. Scot, *Discoverie of Witchcraft*, Bk. iii. ch. 2, ed. 1584. Potts, *Discoverie of Witches*, ed. 1613. Kinloch and Baxter, *Reliquiae Antiquae Scoticae*, pp. 124, 125, 127. In Sweden the witches had milk, butter and cheese.

The four festivals or Sabbaths can be divided into two pairs; the May-November festivals, and the February-August festivals. This division is suggested by the ceremonies, which seem originally to have been arranged according to the season. It is however clear that either the recorders of the trials did not understand that each Sabbath had its own special ritual, or that in the decadent condition, which the religion had reached, the witches themselves had confused the ceremonies. The ceremonies are noted as having occurred, but from the records it is possible that they may have been practised indiscriminately at any and every Sabbath.

In England the May festival was the most important, in Scotland the autumn festival. The ordinary feature of the May festival amongst the Christians in England was the dance round a pole; in Scotland, at the Hallowmas Sabbath the Aberdeen witches danced round the Fish and Market Crosses,[1] and the Craiglauch witches round a great stone,[2] which possibly takes the place of the English Maypole. In almost every notice of the witches' dance taken down from the mouths of eye-witnesses, mention is made of the music which the devil made. This is almost invariably said to be played on a pipe of so peculiar a kind that the Aberdeen judges speak of it as "his form of instrument."[3] The whole description of the May festival at Penzance in the early 19th century, including the peculiar pipes, bears an extraordinary resemblance to the accounts of some of the witches' Sabbaths. "It is an annual custom, on May-eve, for a number of young men and women to assemble at a public-house, and sit up till the clock strikes twelve, when they go round the town with violins, drums and other instruments, and by sound of music call upon others who had previously settled

[1] *Spalding Club Miscellany*, i. pp. 97, 98, 114, 115, 164-5.

[2] *Id. ib.* i. pp. 144, 149.

[3] *Id. ib.* i. pp. 97-8, 114-5, 149, 153, 164-5.

to join them. As soon as the party is formed, they proceed to different farmhouses, where they partake of junket, tea, and heavy country cake; next rum and milk, and then a dance. After thus regaling, they gather the May. While some are breaking down the boughs, others sit and make the 'May music.' This is done by cutting a circle through the bark at a certain distance from the bottom of the May branches; then, by gently and regularly tapping the bark all round, from the cut circle to the end, the bark becomes loosened, and slips away whole from the wood; and a hole being cut in the pipe, it is easily found to emit a sound when blown through, and becomes a whistle. The gathering and the 'May music' being finished, they then 'bring home the May,' by five or six o'clock in the morning, with the band playing, and their whistles blowing. After dancing throughout the town, they go to their respective employments."[1] This description seems to me to have a definite resemblance to the accounts of the North Berwick witches[2] who "danced endlong the Kirkyard," to the witches who danced up the Pentland Hills[3] behind the piping devil, as well as to the Aberdeen and Craiglauch witches already quoted. Again the description of the leader of the May day dance in Wales[4] tallies very closely as I have suggested above with the descriptions often given of the Devil. "In Wales the dancers are under the command of the Cadi, who is chief marshal, orator, buffoon and money collector. . . . His countenance is particularly distinguished by a hideous mask, or is blackened all over; and then the lips, cheeks, and orbits of the eyes are sometimes painted red."[5]

[1] Hone, *Everyday Book*, i. May 1st.

[2] Pitcairn, *Criminal Trials*, i. pt. iii. p. 245.

[3] Sinclair, *Satan's Invisible World Discovered*, p. 163.

[4] Hone, *op. cit.* i. May 1st.

[5] Hone, *op. cit.* May 1st.

May and November are I believe the usual breeding seasons for herd animals, it seems probable then that the fertility rites, which have always interested writers on witchcraft almost to the exclusion of other points of ritual, took place on the May eve and Hallow-eve Sabbaths. The reason of these rites, as Frazer has shown in his accounts of Sacred Marriages, was to promote fertility ; in this case, the fertility of the herds. The accusations brought against witches of certain gross forms of immorality were probably true, but true only in a sense ; the rites being a survival of a primitive cult, and the chief of the Sabbath being a man in the guise of a bull, sheep, or goat,[1] who thus represented the god in animal form. The dates of these two Sabbaths go far to suggest this.

The Candlemas and Lammas festivals were more general in their magical effects. To Candlemas must belong the account of the Devil as a goat with the sacred fire between or upon his horns, from which the witches lighted their candles and torches. The complete account comes from a French source,[2] but the custom held good in England [3] and Scotland,[4] though the rite was so completely misunderstood by the recorders and possibly by the witches themselves that, without the French account as a guide, it is liable to be passed over as unimportant.

Lammas, in the Christian Church, was an early harvest festival, and was probably the same among the witches. Possibly the jumping dance [5] was a fertility rite to ensure the growth of the corn.

[1] De Lancre, *op. cit.* pp. 68, 126. Hutchinson, *Historical Essay*, pp. 42-3, ed. 1720. Lea, *History of the Inquisition*, iii. p. 536.

[2] De Lancre, *Tableau de l'Inconstance des mauvais Anges*, p. 401. De Lancre was the Inquisitor sent to suppress witchcraft in the Pays de Labour.

[3] Glanvil, *Sadducismus Triumphatus*, pt. ii. pp. 139.

[4] Melville, *Memoirs*, p. 395, Pitcairn, *Criminal Trials*, i. pt. iii. pp. 239, 210-12, 245-6. Sinclair, *Satan's Invisible World Discovered*, p. 163. Hutchinson, *op. cit.* pp. 42-3.

[5] De Lancre, *op. cit.* p. 210.

I do not intend to discuss the obscene rites which took place at all four Sabbaths, but which I believe were originally confined to May Eve and November Eve. But I would call your attention to their resemblance to similar ceremonies and beliefs among the ancients: the goat of Mendes, the wild scenes at Bubastis, the bull Dionysos and his following of dancing women, and those phallic rites of which we only catch glimpses, but which obviously played a large part at one time in the popular beliefs of the ancient world.

It is noticeable that there is hardly a mention of the Sabbath in the English trials nor in the celebrated German witch book, the Malleus Maleficarum; all the details which follow are taken from Scotch sources, supplemented where obscure by the French accounts.

Though the date of the Sabbath was fixed the site varied, and the members of the community were notified by the officer as to the locality; he either went to their houses [1] or warned them when he met them.[2] The site in France [3] was always near water. The exact order of the ceremonies is not clear, possibly because the ritual varied slightly in different places, for as Mather says the societies were like congregational churches, meaning that each one was independent. The Devil always presided, and the proceedings began by his receiving the homage of his worshippers; the women paid their adoration first, then the men [4]; and the homage included a renewal of the vows of fidelity and obedience.[5] Then came the religious service, in France the mass,[6] in Scotland the sacrament [7]; and

[1] Glanvil, *Sadducismus Triumphatus*, pt. ii. p. 293-5.

[2] Reg. Scot, *Discoverie of Witchcraft*, Bk. iii. ch. 3.

[3] De Lancre, *Tableau de l'Inconstance*, p. 62, ed. 1613.

[4] Pitcairn, *Criminal Trials*, i. pt. iii. p. 239.

[5] De Lancre, *op. cit.* p. 131.

[6] De Lancre, *op. cit.* pp. 401-3.

[7] Sharpe, *Witchcraft in Scotland*, pp. 130-4. ed. 1884. This is perhaps a confusion between the feast and the sacrament. Howell, *State Trials*, vi. 683.

there are references in both the Irish [1] and American [2] trials to this rite. In Scotland the sermon was a great feature of this ceremony, and a few sentences of the Devil's discourses have been preserved. At North Berwick [3] Satan "stood as in a pulpit, making a sermon of doubtsome speeches, saying, "Many comes to the fair, and buys not all wares," and, "he had many servants who should never want, and should ail nothing; and should never let any tear fall from their eyes, so long as they served him. And gave their lessons and commands to them, as follows: 'Spare not to do evil, and to eat, drink, and be blyth, taking rest and ease, for he should raise them up at the latter day gloriously.'" Another Scotch sermon [4] is preserved in which the Devil is said to have "most blasphemously mocked his followers if they offered to trust in God, who left them miserable in the world, and neither he nor his Son Jesus Christ ever appeared to them when they called on them, as he had, who would not cheat them." In France [5] the Devil said in his sermon that he was God, and that the joy which the witches took in the Sabbath was but the commencement of a much greater glory.

After the service came the feast, and then the dance, which was one of the chief features of the whole ceremonial.

The feast is very seldom given in any detail, sometimes it was provided by the Devil,[6] sometimes by a member of the Society,[7] sometimes all the members brought their

[1] Holinshed, *Chronicle of Ireland*, p. 69. There appears to be no mention of the rite in England.

[2] Hutchinson, *History of Massachusetts Bay*, ii. p. 55, ed. 1765. Cotton Mather, *Wonders of the Invisible World*, pp. 158-9, ed. 1862.

[3] Pitcairn, *op. cit.* i. pt. iii. pp. 210-12.

[4] Howell, *State Trials*, vi. 683.

[5] De Lancre, *op. cit.* pp. 401-3.

[6] Glanvil, *Saddueismus Triumphatus*, pt. ii. pp. 137-8. Sharpe, *Witchcraft in Scotland*, p. 130, ed. 1884.

[7] Kinloch and Baxter, *Reliquiae Antiquae Scoticae*, pp. 132-3. *Spottiswoode Miscellany*, i. pp. 66-7. Potts, *Discoverie of Witches*.

own provisions.[1] The food appears to have consisted of roast meat, bread, and beer or wine; it was always spread on a clean white cloth. In Sweden and Scotland the feast was usually indoors, in England sometimes in a house, sometimes outside, according to the weather; in France almost always out of doors. At Auldearne[2] the feast began with a grace before meat ("We eat this meat in the Devil's name," etc.), and at the end the company looked at the Devil, and bowing to him said, "We thank thee, our Lord, for this." In Great Britain I can find no first-hand evidence as to the alleged taboo on salt at the witch-feasts, though it occurs in France.

The dances were of three kinds[3]; two were danced in a circle, the dancers facing outwards. In the first, the dancers held their hands behind them, and turned first one shoulder, then the other to the middle of the ring with a backward bend of the body. The description is something like the Looby dance of the children of Great Britain. The second was also a round dance, the dancers again facing outwards; it consisted of a series of jumps, and was possibly as I have already suggested originally a dance for increasing the corn crops. Both these dances were often performed round some object such as a great stone, and it is not improbable that the Devil stood in the middle, as there is no record of his dancing in these dances.[4]

[1] Horneck in Glanvil's *Sadducismus Triumphatus*, pt. ii. pp. 326-7. De Lancre, *Tableau de l'Inconstance*, p. 197. Burr, *Narratives of Witchcraft Cases*, p. 418, New York, 1914.

[2] Pitcairn, *Criminal Trials*, iii. 612. Also in France, de Lancre, *op. cit.* p. 197.

[3] De Lancre, *op. cit.* p. 210.

[4] It is uncertain whether this statement holds good at Auldearne, or whether the dance described by Isobel Gowdie refers to the third form. "Jean Martein is Maiden to the Coven that I am of, & hir nikname is 'Ower the dyke with it,' becaws the Divell alwayis takis the Maiden in his hand nix him, quhan we dance Gillatrypes; & quhan he vold loup from [words broken here] he & she will say, Ower the dyk with it" (Pitcairn, *Criminal Trials*, iii. p. 606.)

The third dance was in line; men and women stood alternately, holding hands; in time to the music they shifted their positions till each pair stood back to back, and at a given chord in the tune each dancer took one quick step to the rear and cannoned against his or her partner.[1] The Devil apparently was expected to lead this dance, and could change partners as often as he pleased.

A study, however short, of witch-ritual would not be complete without a mention of child sacrifice, a crime of which the witches were accused in every country, and which they actually confessed they had committed. The child had to be either a witch's child or unbaptised though born of Christian parents. Reginald Scot[2] says that it was commonly reported that "every fortnight, or at the least every month, each witch must kill one child at the least for her part." This is a gross exaggeration as he points out, but he quotes from Psellus[3] a sacrifice of children by a sect of "magical heretikes" called Eutychians, whom he regards as the originals of, or allied to, witches. He gives also a list of fifteen crimes laid to the charge of witches,[4] among which are the two following: "They sacrifice their own children to the devil before baptism, holding them up in the aire to him, and then thrust a needle into their brains," and "they burne their children when they have sacrificed them."

The witches were also accused of feasting on the flesh of the sacrificed children. Though I have not found a description by an eye-witness of such a sacrifice, there is more than one confession of the eating of a dead child's flesh,[5] but it was always done as a magical rite to ensure

[1] The Walloon children still have a similar dance. E. Monseur, *Folklore Wallon*, p. 102, Bruxelles.

[2] R. Scot, *Discoverie of Witchcraft*, Bk. iii. ch. 2.

[3] *Id. ib.* Bk. iii. ch. 3. [4] *Id. ib.* Bk. ii. ch. 9.

[5] Kinloch and Baxter, *Reliquiae Antiquae Scoticae*, p. 121. De Lancre, *Tableau de l'Inconstance*, p. 128.

the silence of the witch when taken before a Christian judge. As the child was always an infant too young to speak, the witches apparently thought that to eat its flesh would prevent their tongues from uttering articulate words.

The exhuming of dead bodies is explicitly stated to have been for use in making charms.[1]

In conclusion I have brought together certain facts which appear to show a connection between the witches and fairies. By fairies I do not mean those little beings which the exquisite and delicate fancies of the poets have evolved; the fairies of the witch trials are the fairies of Scotch and Irish legend. In the early trials and in the more remote districts there are frequent mentions of elves and fairies, of the Fairy Queen and the Queen of Elfin[2]; the imps or familiars are called individually Elva[3] or Robin,[4] and generically Puckerels[5]; the knowledge of the witches is said to be elf-lore.[6] The ritual of the witches is like the ritual of the fairies; both sacrifice children to their god,[7] whom the Christians stigmatised as the Devil; both stole unbaptised children for the sacrifice[8]; both sacrificed their god or "devil" every year,[9] apparently on May day; both had ritual dances, which were so like one another that Boguet can say of the witch dances that "they are like those of the fairies, true devils incarnate,

[1] Pitcairn, *Criminal Trials*, i. pt. iii. p. 239. R. Scot, *op. cit.* Bk. iii. ch. 1.

[2] Pitcairn, *Criminal Trials*, i. pt. ii. p. 56, pt. iii. p. 162, iii. p. 604, etc.

[3] Sinclair, *Satan's Invisible World Discovered*, p. 24.

[4] *Camden Society*, Dame Alice Kyteler, p. 2.

[5] Giffard, *Dialogue of Witches*, p. 9.

[6] *Spalding Club Miscellany*, i. 177—*Ex. of John Walsh.*

[7] Cunningham, *Traditional Tales*, p. 251.

[8] *Ballad of Young Tamlane.*

[9] Rogen, *Scotland Social and Domestic*, p. 217. Cunningham, *Traditional Tales*, p. 251.

who reigned not long ago," [1] and More gravely wonders whether the dark rings on the grass are made by the dances of witches or fairies.[2] The Fairy Queen, like the fairy woman of modern Ireland, is not distinguishable at first sight from an ordinary woman. When Bessie Dunlop was ill, a stout woman came to her cottage and sat down and asked for a drink [3]; this was the Queen of Elfhame. Andro Man as a little boy first saw "the Devil thy master in the likeness and shape of a woman, whom thou callest the Queen of Elphen," who was delivered of a child in Andro's mother's house.[4] When grown-up, Andro again met "that devilish sprite, the Queen of Elphin, on whom thou begat divers bairns, whom thou has seen sinsyne." [5] Marion Grant of the same covine saw her as "a fine woman, clad in a white walicot." [6] Isobel Gowdie said that "the Queen of Fearrie is brawly clothed in white linens, and in white and brown clothes." [7] Jean Weir sister of Major Weir, "took employment from a Woman to speak in her behalf to the Queen of ffearie, meaning the Devil." [8] Holinshed also says that the witches of Macbeth were fairies.[9]

If, as many authorities contend, the fairies are really the aboriginal inhabitants of these islands, there is nothing surprising in their ritual and beliefs being adopted by the invading race. And in that case I am right in my conjecture that the rites of the witches are the remains of the ancient and primitive cult of Great Britain.

[1] Boguet, *Discours des Sorciers*, p. 132.
[2] More, *Antidote against Atheism*, p. 232.
[3] Pitcairn, *Criminal Trials*, i. pt. ii. p. 56.
[4] *Spalding Club Miscellany*, i. p. 119.
[5] *Id. ib.* i. p. 119. [6] *Id. ib.* p. 171.
[7] Pitcairn, *Criminal Trials*, iii. p. 604.
[8] *Records of Justiciary Court of Edinburgh*, ii. p. 11.
[9] Holinshed, *Chronicles, Scotland*, p. 171.

MAGIC AND RELIGION.

BY F. B. JEVONS, LITT.D., ETC.

(*Read before the Society, 13th June*, 1917.)

This paper is based upon our President's article on Magic in the *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* and on a book by the Archbishop of Upsala, *Gudstrons Uppkomst*, of which a German translation (with additions by the author) appeared in 1916 (*Das Werden des Gottesglaubens*).

The position taken in this paper will perhaps come out most clearly if it is contrasted with that maintained by Sir James Frazer in the second edition of his *Golden Bough*. His position is that magic "has probably everywhere preceded religion," and that the essence or distinguishing mark of religion is that it assumes the course of nature and of human life to be controlled by personal beings superior to man. A proof, or at least an instance and a confirmation of this theory, is supposed to be afforded by the Australian black-fellows, who practice magic and do not seem to believe that personal beings, superior to man, control the course of nature and of human life.

The first thing to notice is that "magic" is an ambiguous term; we, who do not believe in magic, employ the term to designate both proceedings which are intended to injure an individual or a community, and proceedings which are intended to work good. But for those who do believe in magic there is a world of difference between the two sets of proceedings. The one set is condemned by public opinion, the other is approved. To call them both "magic"

is not a mere inexactitude, not a mere error of expression. It involves a falsehood as serious and as misleading as if we were to say that killing is the same thing as murder. The execution of a murderer or the destruction of the enemy by a soldier is not murder. And there is the same difference between the proceedings which, being regarded by a community as magical, are condemned by it, and the proceedings which are approved by it and are by us falsely called magical. The *modus operandi* is doubtless the same in the two cases, just as the *modus operandi*—the use of a revolver for instance—may be the same in the case of a soldier and a criminal. But from the similarity in the *modus operandi* nothing whatever can be inferred as to the moral value of the act or the agent. The proceeding in the one case is magical or murderous, while in the other case it is not. And it is the difference between the two sets of proceedings which is of cardinal importance, not the similarity in the *modus operandi*. If then we are to bear in mind this difference and keep its importance constantly in view, it will be well to reserve the term "magic" exclusively for the proceedings which excite the disapproval of the community. It will be well also to bear in mind that the disapproval is evoked by the results which "magic" is intended or supposed to produce, rather than by any theory as to the source from which the magician's power comes: whether the power be inherent in the magician or not, its supposed effects are resented by the community.

If we once clearly grasp the fact that magical proceedings are those which are disapproved and resented by the community, it becomes evident that it is impossible to speak consistently of "an age of magic," meaning thereby an age in which magic alone was believed in. The impossibility reveals itself when we turn to the Australian black-fellows who are supposed to be in "the age of magic." Amongst them we find indeed the magic

which works mischief, but we do not find that magic alone is believed in. They have their ceremonies, which they perform for the good of the community; but those ceremonies, being for the good of the community, are clearly different from the magic which works harm to the community or its members. The *modus operandi* is doubtless much the same in the two cases; but as killing is not the same thing as murder, so the ceremonies are not the same thing as magic, even though the *modus operandi* be the same. Amongst the Australian black-fellows therefore we find magic, but we do not find "an age of magic," meaning thereby an age in which magic alone is believed in—for we find them also practising ceremonies which are just as much, or just as little, like magic as killing is like murder.

Again, the same herb may be used for murderous or for medicinal purposes. But that fact would not warrant us in inferring that an age of medicine was preceded by an age of poison. The herb itself is neither medicinal nor murderous: it is the use it is put to that makes it so. Its use for medicinal purposes is approved, and for the purpose of murder is condemned by the community. But there is no ground for imagining that herbs of this kind were used originally for none but harmful purposes, and only in a later age came to be used for purposes of medicine. So too there is no ground for supposing that originally the only rites practised were magical, that is, were rites practised with evil intent. On the contrary, tribes amongst whom magic is practised are tribes that also have ceremonies which they do not regard as magical—ceremonies of which they as thoroughly approve as they thoroughly condemn magic. And the difference between what they approve and what they condemn is a real difference, not a mere question of terminology. To us it may seem a mere matter of words whether their ceremonies for ensuring the food supply are or are not to be called magical. But to

the black-fellows the difference between proceedings which are used for a good end and proceedings which are used for evil purposes is not a merely verbal difference. It is for them, and it is, as I suggest, in fact, a real difference —as real as the difference between killing and murder. The *modus operandi* may be the same in killing as in murder, but that does not make the one proceeding the same as the other, nor does it show that the difference between the two is merely verbal.

To speak then of an "age of magic" is to imply one of two things. Either it implies an age in which evil is always, and good is never, aimed at—and such an age there has never been. Or else it implies an age in which man was not conscious of the difference between proceedings aimed at an end that he thought good and proceedings directed to an end which he felt to be evil —and such an age there has never been. Proceedings directed to an end felt to be evil are themselves evil and are magical.

What then are we to say of proceedings aimed at an end felt to be good? Can we say of them that, if they are not to be called magical, they must be termed religious? The moment we ask this question we find ourselves face to face with the difficulty of defining religion. We may with Sir James Frazer define or describe religion as involving belief in personal beings superior to man; and then we cannot class the ceremonies which in Australia are conducted for the good of the community either as religion or as magic. Religious they are not, if religion implies belief in personal beings superior to man, and if in the Australian *intichiuma* ceremonies there is no reference to any such beings. Magical they are not, for the essence of the connotation of magic is that its purpose is condemned by the community as evil. Dr. Marett in the *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* suggests that what he calls "determinate religion"—by which he presum-

ably means the belief in personal beings superior to man —was preceded by and evolved out of what he speaks of as "nascent religion." And the *intichiuma* ceremonies would, I suppose, be in Dr. Marett's view an instance of "the stage of cult or ritual (if so it may be termed)" which may be spoken of as "nascent religion." The Archbishop of Upsala regards these ceremonies as "nascent religion." He quotes (*Das Werden des Gottesglaubens*, p. 194) the following passage from Messrs. Spencer and Gillen, and asks the reader to decide for himself whether what is described in the passage is or is not religion. The passage (from *The Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 33, cf. pp. 177 ff.), runs as follows:

"Attention may be drawn to one striking feature of savage life, so far as the men are concerned. During his early years, up till perhaps the age of fourteen, the boy is perfectly free, wandering about in the bush, searching for food, playing with his companions during the daytime, and perhaps spending the evening watching the ordinary corroborees. From the moment of his initiation however his life is sharply marked out into two parts. He has first of all what we may speak of as the ordinary life, common to all the men and women, and associated with the procuring of food and the performance of corroborees, the peaceful monotony of this part of his life being broken every now and again by the excitement of a fight. On the other hand, he has what gradually becomes of greater and greater importance to him, and that is the portion of his life devoted to matters of a sacred or secret nature. As he grows older he takes an increasing share in these, until finally this side of his life occupies by far the greater part of his thoughts. The sacred ceremonies which appear very trivial matters to the white man are most serious matters to him. They are all connected with the great ancestors of the tribe, and he is firmly convinced that, when it comes to his turn to die, his spirit part will finally

return to his old *alcheringa* home, where he will be in communion with them until such time as it seems good to him to undergo reincarnation."

If then we are to regard the *intichiuma* ceremonies as typical of the stage of cult or ritual which may be spoken of as "nascent religion," and if in such ceremonies there is, as Sir James Frazer holds, no reference to personal beings regarded as superior to man, it is clear that we can no longer suppose the essence or distinguishing mark of religion to consist in the assumption that the course of nature and of human life is controlled by personal beings superior to man. On the one hand we have narrowed the denotation of magic and have limited it, in accordance with the conception of those who believe in it, to proceedings intended for the harm of the community or its members. On the other hand, we have extended the denotation of religion until it embraces all ceremonies or rites practised by the community for the good of the community. Now, in this way we do get rid of the necessity of assuming that in the evolution of man there was a stage in which magic was known to man and religion was not. But we only get rid of it at the cost of extending and attenuating our notion of religion until it no longer contains any reference to a personal god or gods. Now, this it may seem at first we cannot possibly do. Religion, it may be said, implies at least belief in a personal god or gods. But to say that, is in effect to say that what I believe in is religion, and what other people believe in —if it differs from my belief—is not religion. Now that view, however common and however firmly held, is not scientific. From the point of view of science all forms of religion alike are forms of religion. We may and indeed we must have a provisional definition of religion, a working hypothesis to go upon. But we may and indeed we must also be prepared to amend our definition—for it is *ex hypothesi* but a provisional definition—

and for our working hypothesis we must always be prepared to substitute one that works better. But the point to which the Science of Religion has been brought by Dr. Marett's article in the *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, and by Dr. Söderblom's book on the growth of the belief in God, is precisely whether Sir James Frazer's description of religion is absolute and final, or whether it is merely a working hypothesis which can now be improved—or rather a provisional definition which must now be amended and extended. If it be amended and extended, then we may be able to include under it the *intichiuma* ceremonies at one end; but the question which will probably arise in most minds is whether at the other end the belief in personal beings may not disappear from the definition. For if it does disappear, then it cannot possibly be a definition.

The difficulty thus raised might be serious, if it arose only when we were seeking for a definition of religion. But, so far from arising only then, it appears with just the same force whenever we attempt to define anything whatever that develops or evolves. The difference between the acorn and the full-grown oak tree is as great as that between the *intichiuma* ceremonies and a polytheistic or a monotheistic form of religion. But though no description we can give of the oak will describe the acorn, the fact remains that the oak grows out of the acorn, or that the acorn becomes an oak by a process of continuous growth. And the process is not only one of continuity but of change—of change in continuity and of continuity in change. No one imagines that the oak is preformed in the acorn—that if we take the acorn to pieces we shall find an oak inside. And it would be just as unreasonable to imagine that if we dissect one stage of religion we ought to find, preformed in it, the stages which later are to evolve from it. The fact that we do not find in an acorn an oak-tree preformed does not in the least shake the

fact that the acorn becomes an oak—that oak and acorn are but different stages of one process of growth. And the fact that in the earlier stages of religion we do not find the later stages preformed is no proof that the earlier stages do not pass into the later. If anyone chooses to insist that an oak is not the same thing as an acorn, he is entitled to do so. But, we must point out, he is not also entitled to assert that the oak is the same thing as the tree. "Tree," we will take it, is a term which includes or is applicable to all stages from the first to the last—to the acorn, the sapling and the oak alike. And so, too, religion is a term which includes or is applicable to all stages in the one process, and not to the stage of monotheism alone or of polytheism alone, or even to those stages alone in which there is a reference to personal beings. Each of these stages is a stage in the process of religion, but no stage is by itself the whole process, and consequently a definition of one stage cannot possibly be a definition of the processes as a whole.

If we bear that simple and undeniable fact in mind, we shall have no difficulty in recognising that what is essential to, or an essential part of, religion in one stage may have to be cast aside when a later stage is reached. And in such a case it is a mistake to say that what is thrown off in the later stage was never at any time an essential part of religion. The husk of the acorn is thrown off, indeed, as the tree begins to grow, but in the acorn-stage of the tree it is an essential part of the tree, even though at a later stage it ceases to be any part of the tree whatever. Thus in the *intichiuma* rites there are ceremonies which, even if they are felt by the celebrants of the ceremonies to be very different from magic, and should by us be unmistakably distinguished from magic, nevertheless have the same *modus operandi* as magic. These ceremonies correspond to the husk of the acorn: they tend to be dropped in proportion as religion rises to higher stages.

But it would plainly be erroneous to say that they were not essential to the earlier stages because of necessity they cease to be part of the later stages. And, as already said, it is equally erroneous to suppose that these ceremonies, because their *modus operandi* is the same as that of magic, are, or are supposed by their celebrants to be, magical: what is intended for the good of a community is different from what is intended for its harm. Between magic and religion in Australia the difference is, then, to begin with, a difference of value. To imagine the Australians do not distinguish between magic and religion because ceremonies practised by them as religious are felt by people in another stage of religion to be magical, is just as unreasonable as it would be to say that the Australians are unaware of the difference between good and bad, or between truth and falsehood, because they think things to be good or true which we see to be bad and false. As there is no human society which does not distinguish between good and bad, truth and falsehood, so there is none which does not distinguish between religion and magic, though in each case the line between the two may be drawn at different points. The important fact, however, is that always the line is drawn somewhere The line may be continually shifting; but it could not shift, if it did not exist.

Sir James Frazer's definition or description of religion —that the course of nature and of human life is controlled by personal beings superior to man—receives the assent of many who do not agree with all his views. It wins their assent because it places the idea of God at the beginning of religion. It has the advantage from his point of view that it enables him to cite the Australians as an instance of a people who have not attained to the belief in personal beings superior to man—as an instance of man in a pre-religious stage. May it not, however, be, as a definition or description of religion, capable of amendment? Viewed from the point of view of science,

it has the same drawback as the notion that the oak exists preformed in the acorn. It seems to imply a "preformation" theory; and, as such, to be inconsistent with modern views of the nature either of growth or of evolution. The steam-plough has grown or evolved from the primitive digging-stick by a series of changes which though they have been changes have an unbroken continuity. But this continuity affords not the slightest ground for supposing that the idea of the steam-plough existed, preformed, in the mind of the man who first used a digging-stick. Neither, however, does the undoubted continuity throw the least doubt on the fact that the digging-stick has considerably changed in the process of its evolution. Different as a steam-plough is from a digging-stick, there is unbroken continuity between the two; and the unbroken continuity manifests itself in the changes by which the implement in its later stages has been evolved from the implement in its earlier stages. Enormous as the difference is, the similarity is none the less. So too, I suggest, enormous as is the difference between a stage of religion in which there is no reference to beings superior to man, and later stages of polytheism or monotheism, the process by which the later stages have followed on the earlier has been a process not only of change but of continuity—of change in continuity and of continuity in change—a process in which the very differences postulate similarity, and the similarity implies difference. The continuity of the digging-stick and the steam-plough implies all the stages of difference which at the same time separate and yet unite them.

For the illustration of my argument I may perhaps employ a statement made by our President. He says (following Mr. J. Burnet, *Early Greek Philosophy*[2], p. 24): "European geometry would seem to be the outcome of the art of the 'cord-fasteners,' who measured out the land in Egypt after each inundation of the Nile." Now, Euro-

pean geometry as it exists to-day certainly did not exist preformed in the mind of the ancient Egyptian "cord-fasteners," any more than the steam-plough existed in the mind of the first men who used digging-sticks. And, as we cannot say that the geometry which now exists in Europe, is nothing more than what was present to the mind of the early Egyptian, so we cannot say that the religion of the polytheist or monotheist is nothing more than was present to minds which had not attained to the belief in personal beings superior to man. But neither can we close our eyes to the fact that what was in the mind of the Egyptian "cord-fastener" has become modern European geometry by a process of continuity, which is none the less continuous because it has been continuously changing.

Whether the Egyptian "cord-fasteners" went on fastening their cords in the primitive way even after the time of Euclid, I do not know. If they did, then we should have an earlier and a later stage of geometry existing simultaneously in different countries, in the same way that we have in Australia an earlier stage of religion existing simultaneously with later stages elsewhere.

If we consider the process by which geometry has evolved to be analogous to the process by which religion has evolved, we shall perhaps be inclined to differ somewhat from Dr. Marett in one point. He says (*E.R.E.*, viii., p. 247*b*), "In the sphere of nascent religion there must have been a stage of cult or ritual (if so it may be termed), the product of sheer unreflective habit, which preceded the growth of ideas concerning the how and why of what was being done." But, I suggest, that in the sphere of nascent geometry the stage in which the Egyptian "cord-fastener" measured out the land in Egypt after each inundation of the Nile—or, in the sphere of nascent agriculture, the stage in which a digging-stick was first used—was not "the product of sheer unreflective habit."

What was in the mind of the early Egyptian, or of the men who first used a digging-stick, different though it was from modern European geometry, or from a steam-plough, is nevertheless connected by a continuous process with the later developments, and it is no more reasonable to say that the earlier stages were "the product of sheer unreflective habit" than it would be to say that the later stages of geometry or agriculture are. If there is something more than "sheer unreflective habit" in the work of modern geometry or agriculture, so there was in the earlier stages of the work. And in the same way, if there is something more than "sheer unreflective habit" in the later stages of the growth of religion, so there must have been in the earlier stages. What is evident is that in geometry, agriculture and religion alike, the earlier stages would not have been practised unless they had been thought worth while—unless they were felt to have some value. But whereas the value of geometry or agriculture is displayed mainly, if not wholly, in their material results, the value of religion is felt mainly if not wholly in the frame of mind or state of spirit produced. The Australian (as Messrs. Spencer and Gillen testify) is profoundly moved by the ceremonies in which he participates, whether as celebrant or witness; and, as the Archbishop of Upsala says (*l.c.*, p. 195), in those ceremonies the Australian feels that man is in relation with what is holy—and feels such a state of mind or spirit to be the highest of all. Its value we may in other words say is supreme.

Dr. Marett (*E.R.E.*, viii., p. 248*b*) deprecates the idea of dividing magic from religion by a horizontal line as it were, and inclines rather to regard the line of division between magic and religion as perpendicular. And he would place rudimentary cult, as we find it for instance amongst the Australians, on one side of the perpendicular line and magic on the other side. Thus we have not magic first existing for itself and religion subsequently

coming into existence, but both existing side by side. If, then, the order of events is not from magic to religion —is not magic first and religion subsequently occurring— then, I suggest, neither can the order of events be "from spell to prayer." If, as Sir James Frazer says, there is between magic and religion "a fundamental distinction and even opposition of principle," then as magic does not become religion, so neither can spell become prayer. Between spell and prayer there is the same "fundamental distinction and even opposition of principle" as there is between magic and religion. As a mere matter of grammar, indeed, the verb which is used in formulating a prayer is as much in the imperative mood as the verb formulating a spell. "Be it done" is an expression which, as far as the words go, may be either a spell or a prayer. But from this it would be an error to infer that the attitude of mind and emotion is the same in magic and religion. Between the two attitudes there is a distinction which is fundamental and an opposition which is an opposition of principle. Prayer is on one side of the perpendicular line separating magic from religion; spell is on the other side. It is possible indeed to pass rapidly, instantaneously, from the one side to the other—from commanding to beseeching, as the spoilt child does—but that does not diminish the distinction and opposition between the two attitudes of mind. Nor does it constitute the least presumption that the two opposed attitudes are but two manifestations or two developments of one and the same principle. On the contrary, if we recognised that there is a fundamental opposition between magic and rudimentary cult, as we find it in Australia for instance, then we must class spells as from the beginning belonging to magic, and prayer as belonging to religion. At the same time if we recognise that there is in religion a stage of rudimentary cult in which a tribe no more relies upon personal beings superior to man than the Egyptian "cord-fasteners"

relied upon Euclid, we shall have also to recognise that though prayer might eventually develop from rudimentary cult, it has not as a matter of fact developed in the rudimentary cult of the Australian black-fellows. The important fact however is that the rudimentary stage of religion must have been such that from it both belief in personal beings superior to man and the supplicatory attitude of prayer could develop, whereas from magic spells alone could be evolved. If the line separating magic from religion be perpendicular, as Dr. Marett says, and not horizontal, then prayer originates from or in religion on the one side, and spells from or in magic on the other. The spirit or frame of mind which resorts to spells and magic is fundamentally distinguished from, and opposed in principle to that which relies on religion and trusts to prayer. The spirit, the intention, of religion differs wholly from the spirit and intention of the magician. The two cannot be brought under one head, or into the same class. The difference between them is the same as and identical with the difference between good and bad. It cannot therefore be, as Dr. Marett suggests that it is, "best to treat all magico-religious rites as generically akin." A poisoner and a physician may use the same drug, indeed; but to regard the two as "generically akin," implies that poisoning and healing are species of the same genus, that there is no difference—no generic difference—between the intention to heal and the intention to kill. But between the one intention and the other there is all the difference in the world; and as we do not in the least get rid of the difference between poisoning and healing by saying that the poisoner and the physician make use, it may be, of the same drug, so we do not in the least get rid of the absolute and fundamental difference between magic and religion by calling attention (*E.R.E.*, viii., p. 379*a*) "to the element which magic and religion have in common." Poisoning and healing have no element in common: neither

have magic and religion. The intention and the spirit make the difference, the world of difference, between them —a difference as patent to the most primitive of peoples as it is to us. That the drug is obtained and administered in much the same way by poisoner and physician does not diminish the fundamental difference—the difference of purpose and intention—between the two. Between the murderer and the physician there is a difference. It would be vain to say that because they use the same drug there is " a unity in difference," or any unity whatever between them. And so, too, it is vain to " treat the magico-religious as a unity in difference " (*E.R.E. ib.*) on the ground that there are rites which are similar in magic and religion, just as there are drugs which are used both by murderer and physician. To us, indeed, who do not believe in magic it may be clear that some of the rites used in religion are the same as those used in magic ; but to the men who believed in magic the difference was fundamental and absolute: it lay in the intention of the agent and in the approval or disapproval of the community. This difference it is which is ignored or denied in using the term " magico-religious," and in speaking of " all magico-religious rites as generically akin." From the point of view of tribes that believe in magic, there are rites which are magical, and there are rites which are religious ; but there are no rites which are " magico-religious," for to such tribes " magical " means " non-religious," and " religious " means " non-magical "—or rather " magic " means to them what is condemned by the community, while what is approved by the community belongs to the sphere of what we call religion. But between what is approved and what is condemned by the community there is no unity—there is only difference. Approval and condemnation are not " generically akin." And to classify " all magico-religious rites as generically akin " is to commit an error in classification. To assume that there was a " magico-religious "

age is as though we were to assume a "medico-poisonous" age. It is to assume that men knew both poison and medicine, without knowing that poison was poison, and medicine, medicine. The assumption alike in the case of the "magico-religious" and the "medico-poisonous" is self-contradictory or meaningless. To say that the same drug is used by poisoner and physician is true enough. The same bricks and mortar may serve as a house or a home. But there is a difference between them. And it is an error in classification to say that house and home, poisoner and physician, or magic and religion are "generically akin." The difference is fundamental. The difference is fundamental for those who believe in magic. It is fundamental also for those of us who, though they believe in religion, do not believe in magic. For those of us, however, who believe in neither it can hardly be fundamental.

To one person in a street a certain house is home; to the hundreds or thousands of other people who pass it by it is but a house. Yet the distinction is fundamental between the conception of a house and the feeling of home. And it remains fundamental however much one house in a street may be like another. If both were built of brick, we might possibly say they had an element in common. But we should not feel that they had really. So too when Dr. Marett says (*E.R.E.*, viii., p. 249*b*), "*mana* usefully calls attention to the element which magic and religion have in common," I do not feel that they have anything in common really. But since both Dr. Marett and the Bishop of Upsala think that they have, we must pay attention to what they say.

Dr. Söderblom says (*Das Werden des Gottesglaubens*, p. 195), that belief in *mana*, and dealings with that power are accompanied not merely by fear but also by trust. Further, these two feelings—fear and trust—are the marks by which religion is distinguished from magic. But the

distinction thus drawn by Dr. Söderblom will hardly suffice to mark off magic from religion. The person who uses magic trusts in it, and also fears it. The distinction which Dr. Söderblom draws is a distinction without a difference. So far from distinguishing magic and religion it would identify them.

The real difference is that, though the means or the *modus operandi*, regarded by themselves and viewed in the abstract, are the same in the two cases, the ends to which they are applied are different—different with all the difference between good and bad, between what is approved and what is disapproved by society. And the difference which is felt between the ends constitutes in itself the difference between the means. The difference between the means is exactly the same as the difference between the ends. Means and ends apart from one another are mere abstractions. In reality they are no more separable from one another than a cause is from its effect. It is because the intention of the agent in the one case is good and in the other case is evil, that his action is approved in the one case and disapproved of in the other.

Dr. Söderblom himself on a later page (215) sees that the difference between primitive religion and magic consists partly in the use to which they are put, and states explicitly that in both religion and magic "power" or *mana* is employed. The difference, he says, originates in the purpose aimed at. He should therefore hold that it is the purpose which constitutes the difference, and not merely the feelings of fear and trust—for, as already said, those feelings accompany the use of magic as well as the practice of religion. A difference in the feeling with which magic and religion are viewed there is. But the difference is that the one is felt by the community to be used for evil and the other for good. So long as we take that to be a fundamental difference between magic and religion, we shall be constrained to reject the notion that

religion is but a sort of magic, and also to reject the idea that religion and magic, good and evil, are but different manifestations of fundamentally the same thing. The notion that religion is but a sort of magic is like the idea that justice is a sort of thievishness: the latter idea, as Plato showed, is the consequence that follows from a false notion of what justice is, and the other idea is based on a mistaken notion of what religion is. To appreciate the view that religion and magic were originally, or are fundamentally the same, it is necessary to take account of *mana* or "power."

Dr Söderblom's view is that the conception of *mana* or "power" differentiates itself, in the course of its evolution, into good *mana* and bad *mana* (p. 218), and that with this differentiation the opposition between magic and religion becomes marked (p. 219). *Mana* in the earliest stage of its evolution was, according to Dr. Söderblom, neither good nor bad; from this original *mana*, by the process of differentiation and evolution, sprang two species of *mana*, the good and the bad, and then the difference, or a difference, between magic and religion became clear. There are however difficulties about Dr. Söderblom's views. Power to do good is good power, good *mana*; power to do evil is evil *mana*, evil power. Wherever *mana* is believed in, the two kinds of *mana* are found. No case of the *mana* belief can be produced in which the two kinds of *mana* are absent. And the reason is clear: the only grounds on which the existence or nature of a power can be inferred are its effects; and it is because the effects are good, or because the effects are bad, that the supposed power is pronounced to be good in the one case, or bad in the other. If the effects were neither good nor bad, then indeed the *mana* would be neither good nor bad. But to effects which are neither good nor bad primitive man pays no attention, and consequently he only infers good *mana* and bad *mana*. They may be resident in the

same person or the same thing, but they are none the less different powers. Doubtless when the abstract conceptions of good *mana* and bad *mana* have been reached, the still more abstract conception of *mana* that is neither good nor bad may be reached. But that is a further and a later conception: it is not the first or original conception. And for this reason I dissent from Dr. Söderblom's view that *mana* in the earliest stage of its evolution was conceived to be neither good nor bad. And I dissent from his view the more decidedly because it seems to me to imply necessarily what Dr. Söderblom himself refuses to believe, viz., that magic and religion have a common origin and therefore in their original stage were the same thing.

The other view from which I dissent is one which is held by Dr. Marett, if I understand rightly what he says about *mana* (*E.R.E.*, viii., p. 379*a*, *s.v. Mana*). He says that religion and magic have an element in common. That element is *mana*, the wonder-working power; and as it is present in both religion and magic, it is termed by Dr. Marett "magico-religious," and it is viewed by him as constituting the unity of magic and religion. That is to say, from the point of view of logic, and of logical classification or definition, magic and religion are generically and fundamentally the same, though they are different species of the same genus—the specific difference being that in the one the wonder-working powers is social, and in the other anti-social in its use. As against Dr. Marett's view I venture to suggest that it does not follow that, because two things have an element in common, therefore the two things are generically the same or belong to the same genus. It does not follow that two things belong to the same genus because they have weight or even because they have the same weight; and it does not follow that two things belong to the same genus because they have or are believed to have power or even the same power.

The resemblance between magic and religion consists simply in the fact that both are subjects of which value is predicated. The difference is absolute and fundamental: it consists in the fact that the values predicated of the two are different and opposed. Magic, where it is believed in, is illicit and evil; religion is licit and approved by the community. The difference is not that religion makes and that magic avoids the assumption that there are powers superior to man, for magic often makes the assumption, whereas religion in its earliest stage probably had not yet come to make it or not to make it consciously. It may be that the belief in personal gods followed not only after but from the earlier stages of religious evolution, as European geometry not only followed but was evolved from the art of the Egyptian "cord-fasteners," or the steam plough from the primitive digging-stick, or as the oak grows from the acorn. But as we shall not expect by any process of analysis or dissection to find an oak in the acorn, neither shall we expect to find personal gods, or beings superior to man, in the earliest stages of religion. Nor should we for that reason deny that the earlier stages are religious, any more than we should deny that the oak and the acorn are both stages in the growth of the tree. Magic and religion differ not merely as two species of the same genus may differ, but at the outset with all the difference that lies between good and bad, and at the present day further with all the difference between what has been proved irrational and what has not.

THE PERSISTENCE OF PRIMITIVE BELIEFS IN THEOLOGY:

A Study in Syrian Syncretism; 'Ali, Elyun, El, Helios and Elijah.'

Analysis.

I. 1. Peculiar ideas gathering round the name of *Ali*.
2. The Sea-Demon Khidr,
3. = *Elijah* (both for Jews and Mahommedans).
4. *Elisha*-Khidr, a real deity from Syria to Hindustan,
5. identified with many worthies of the Old Testament *e.g.*,
6. the undying Melchizedek (*Elyun*): the god who dies or disappears and again returns.
7. Khidr is deity of the proficients, as *Ali* (Helios, El) among adepts, of the Nosairis.
8. Sum.

II. 9. The Seven World-Ages and the Recurrent Prophet (in Ebionism and early heresy).
10. In Mani and the *Clementine Writings*, nearly coeval.
11. Dominant influence in this, Buddhism.
12. At root of all, notion of the Fetish-King—the vehicle which is used and discarded: Great Mother and her short-lived consorts; Iranian 'royal halo' and its temporary wearer; Buddhist and Hindoo Law and its exponent.
13. Modern survivals: *Druzes*,
14. and *Nosairi*.
15. *Kizil Bash* (Red Caps) and *Yezidi*.
16. Conclusion.

Part I.

1. One of the most insoluble problems in religious history is the Shi'ite apotheosis of Ali the Caliph, a hero-worship of a martyred ruler which still divides the Muslim world into two hostile camps. The following remarks aim at showing that this is a result achieved to a great extent by the people or masses, that it is an absolute challenge flung down to orthodox Islam, and that many divers elements are fused to make up the composite figure. The Arabs who supported the unlucky son-in-law of the Prophet were democratic tribesmen, some indeed professed republicans of the desert, who demanded that the captain of the holy armies should be freely elected and as freely deposed, in case of abuse of power or incompetence. But the Persian supporters of Ali were religious mystics (of the type which later produced the Sufis), genuine haters of the Arabs and champions of the old royalist legitimacy and divine right which gathered round the idealized and mythical Jamshid, and shed a halo on every legitimist king. With hardly an exception every antinomian sect among the Muslim has professed the greatest devotion to the memory of Ali and his two martyred sons—Carmathians, Fatimite Caliphs of Egypt, Ismailians, Assassins, 'Mulahidas'; not to mention the peculiar pagan sectaries that survive to the present hour, Nosairis, Druzes, Kizil Bash, and perhaps the Yezidi of the Caucasus. It remains to ask why the name of a short-lived and unfortunate Caliph should have been the rallying-cry of the truly devout and of the highly antinomian elements in Islam down to modern times.[1] The loyalty of His Highness the Aga Khan is a great asset to the British in India to-day, and he is the living representative of Shi'ism and a lineal descendant of

[1] I must refer the reader for a fuller survey of these anarchical sects, communistic States, or religious heresies to my forthcoming work on *Religious Thought and Heresy*, Robert Scott, 1917, pp. 346-371, 431-438.

the Assassin chiefs, the Old Men of the Mountains. What is this strange and composite figure round which has collected so much enthusiasm and tradition, potently moulding the obscure development of eastern thought and politics?

2. First we must bear the charge of running away from our subject entirely and speak about a certain sea-demon called Khidr or the 'sea-green one,' that is, Glaucus. He is a curious Muslim saint with the attributes of immortality and omnipresence, a patron-saint of travellers especially by sea, constantly meeting and talking with wayfarers, helping them on their road and revealing to them at times divine secrets. It is confidently believed by some that he is the prototype of the Wandering Jew, or, if a later creation, that he has been completely fused with that mythical figure. An Arab proverb says 'to wander like Khidr,' and Cumont suggests that 'Ahasuerus' (the name so well known from Edgar Quinet's romantic drama), is but a form of Khisr, itself the Perso-Turkish way of pronouncing Khidr. Now the story of Khidr has, strangely enough, nothing Muslim about it! The Greek part comes from pseudo-Callisthenes' tale of Andreas, the cook of Alexander the Great: by a mere chance he found the elixir or Water of Life, drank it, obtained eternal life and was hurled by the angry king into the sea where he became 'Glaucus' or a sea-demon, husband of Scylla and Circe, and helper of the Argonauts. This romance, begun under the Ptolemies, reached its present form before the time of Constantine (*c.* 300 A.D.). It passed as an interesting legend from Egypt (*or* from Syria) into Arabia and duly appears in the Koran (xviii. 59).

3. But it was Jewish influence that turned a cook who became a sea-demon into a Muslim saint and patron of travellers! For the next figure to be fused (in this complex photograph) is—Elijah! Talmudic or Rabbinic Judaism conceived of him as immortal and omnipresent: the orthodox Jewish household keeps an empty chair for

him, he attends every rite of circumcision, and on Passover Eve he drinks a cup of wine set apart for him at every Jewish table throughout the world. He appears to scholars and tells them divine mysteries in desert places or on lonely roads, and the later Cabbalists profess in great part to derive their secrets from him. He was a familiar and popular figure in Arabia before Mahomet's time and he seems to be referred to in a remarkable *theodicy*-vision (Koran xviii. 64 f). The later exegetes expressly identify the immortal Elijah there named as a 'servant' with the sea-demon Khidr who was also a deathless being. In Islam the view is generally accepted that the real name of Khidr is *Ilyas*; he resembles the Rabbinic figure in an astonishing degree, becomes an *eternal prophet* (let this be closely marked) who is omnipresent but appears only when his name is called or his help invoked. The Sufis (or Persians who brought mysticism into Islam) claim, like the Cabbalists of Western Judaism, to have found his revelations of the utmost value. The Jews accepted the identification; those who bore the name *Elijah* were known to the Muslim as *Khidr* and the Turks have frankly merged the two words together to form a strange hybrid, *Khidrlas*.

4. A difficulty however arose: the Koran mentions Elijah by name in his biblical character of severity and sternness. Therefore there arose a pair of twins—Elijah (as *Ilyas*) appears as the inseparable companion of Khidr, who is now explained to be Elisha. Elijah begins to lose the grotesque features of a Glaucus or sea-demon and is only the guardian of wayfarers on land; while Elisha-Khidr is guardian of the sea (*mukallaf fil bahr*), patron of sailors, one who traverses the waters (*khawad-al-buhur*). To him a sacrifice is offered when a new boat is launched,[1] and his name is held in honour, according to Cumont, from Northern Syria to the confines of Hindustan. Wherever triumphant

[1] Curtiss, *Prim. Semitic Relig.*, Leipzig, 1903.

Islam bore its somewhat jejune creed and more complex legends, the new converts read into the foreign faith all their old beliefs. In Syria Khidr has been identified with St. George—a sort of Perseus who in rescuing Andromeda from the sea-dragon is badly repaid by being confused with the monster itself.[1] The coast of Syria is studded with little shrines where sacrifices and the first-born are regularly offered. The Syrian Muslim have indeed a proverb (closely resembling an axiom of the Russian Slavs before the late changes): 'Khidr is near but God is far off.' Like the *pirs* in India he has really become a god, and Cumont suggests that he may have embodied much of ancient Semitic mythology or even the early *Tammuz*-cult of the Sumerians.

5. The more orthodox Muslim divines object to this hero-worship or spirit-cult, just as in their hearts they object to the dervishes and the religion of ecstasy and trance: *surtout point de zêle*, except in the innocent area of military propagandism. Many have tried in vain to prove that Khidr, a companion of the Prophet, died very soon after him, and is by no means either an immortal *chef* or a grotesque 'dragon of the slime.' But the Sufis, abhorring Arabs and Sunnites from the bottom of their heart, have supported the popular *cultus* with arguments and enthusiasm.

But even the orthodox and unemotional have helped towards a strange doctrine of the 'Recurrent Prophet,' which is at least as old as the pseudo-Clementine Writings and indeed as Elkesai (*c.* 100 A.D.). It is a favourite theological pastime to identify or equate Khidr with some Old Testament worthy; he is Melchizedek, Seth, Enoch, Lot, Jonah, Jeremiah, the Messiah Himself. Cumont is inclined to call these conjectures the 'product of unfettered speculative fancy,'[2] but there seems to be some

[1] Clermont-Ganneau, *Horus et Saint Georges*, Paris, 1877.
[2] Hastings, *Dict. Rel. Eth.* "Khidr," vii. 695.

method in it, and the chief saints are, as in other Incarnationist systems, *seven* in number. Is Khidr regarded, like Visnu in India, as a spiritual being who incarnates himself for the good of mankind when faith and virtue decay, and has thus assumed flesh some seven times in the various ages of history? It is at least certain from other sources that this is the final form taken by the primitive Syrian religion.

6. We have just mentioned Melchizedek as one of this series of philanthropic *avatars*, 'without beginning or end of days.' Some Jews believed him to be a survivor from the Deluge—perhaps Shem, others to be the Messiah; others thought he was an angel—Jerome believed that Origen and Didymus held this view. The Church after Constantine had to fight against some very strange theories: the Melchizedekians maintained that the priest-king was the Power or Virtue of God. Hieracas even identifies him with the Holy Ghost; Epiphanius says that some Christians held him to be the Son. Now one of his titles is 'lofty-exalted' *elyon*—a name also given to Jehovah (cf. Genesis xiv. 18). Philo of Byblus tells us that it was in use among the Phoenicians (Eusebius *Præp. Ev.* i. 36, Dindorf, p. 44): Ἔλιουν = ὕψιστος and this chief god with a female consort Βηρουθ, clearly the eponym of Berytus, settled near Byblus. But Philo also makes it clear that *Eliun* was a title of Adonis, the spring verdure which is killed by the summer's heat. He is the Canaanitic variant of that subordinate male deity which appears in Sumer as *Dumuzi*, in Babylonia as *Tammuz*, in Anatolia as *Ate* or *Attis*, in Egypt (according to some students of syncretism) as *Osiris*. The cult of Adonis is fully described in the *Golden Bough* (part iv., London, 1907); the image of the defunct deity was raised upon a bier and bewailed, then placed in a tomb for six months, when his rising again to new life was joyfully celebrated. The shallow 'gardens of the Lord' were allowed to wither at the same time, and then carried to the

water and thrown in—a common rain-charm to the present hour in Bengal, N.E. India and Burma. In sum, Adonis (undying through death) is the primitive god of vegetation who perishes and again revives; son and also husband of the Great Mother who stands behind, herself immortal and in a sense unchanging.[1] Now, according to Philo, Elium the Highest died in an encounter with wild beasts and was deified, his descendants 'continuing to offer him sacrifice and libation.' This makes clear his identity with the Adonis of Gebal and of Hellenic mythology. The name *Elyun*, it may be mentioned, is also found in another well-known figure of Greek myth—Pygmalion, which is *Pume-Elyun*.

7. Some seventeen years ago Dussaud published his *Histoire et Religion des Nosairis* (Paris 1900), and hazarded the conjecture that the *Ali el Ala* of this obscure pagan sect in the Lebanon is Adonis *Elyun* of the most primitive time. The uninitiated of this community recognise Khidr as the god *par excellence*;[2] but the adept who has passed the Greater Mysteries call him *Ali*. In 'Khodr's' honour the proficient takes a solemn pilgrimage.

8. It seems fairly certain then that *Shi'ism* is nothing more than an adaptation of the early Anatolic nature-worship to the 'heroic humanism' of later times. Instead of a half-personified principle, combining in itself decay and resurrection, life in and through death, man associates his hopes and fears (which have now become largely selfish and personal) with a human figure. Adonis in the Greek myth has assumed the clear-cut outlines of a real personage: the invisible Great Mother has become the very feminine type, Aphrodite. The 'Highest' met his death by violence and was therefore worshipped; hero-cult all over the world aiming chiefly at the appeasement of souls cut off by mis-

[1] Cf. Ramsay's instructive article on the Phrygian Religion, Hastings, *l.c.* ix. 900-911, 1917.

[2] Dussaud and René Basset spell the name *Khodhr* or *Khadhir*.

adventure in their prime and believed to be envious of their survivors.[1] With this idea was combined a strange Incarnationist theory which spread all over Southern Asia and had a great influence on Visnu-ism: the divine being clothes himself in a different body in each of the seven ages of the world, to teach men the truth, and this figure may be called the Recurrent Prophet. Popular nature-worship, a hero-cult, a Greek romance, a figure from the Hebrew Scripture, a very ancient Phoenician deity, the learned speculation of Syrian eclectics in the first centuries A.D.—all these are constituents of the remarkable Muslim development which has separated and riven Islam into the rival camps of pure deism, and (in effect) of hero-worship or martyr-cult.

PART II.

9. It is possible that the conception of 'Seven World-Ages' may have its earliest suggestion in Istar's descent through seven portals of the underworld: it is not Hindu nor Zoroastrian, and students are now very doubtful as to an early date for Chaldean astrology or the lore of the seven planets. But this is not the place for an exhaustive enquiry. Of the notion of a deity taking human form in each world-period we have clear trace in the *Book of Elkesai*, coming from Syrian Apamea (*c.* 220 A.D.): 'Christ was an angel born of human parents who had appeared before, both in Adam and Moses.' The Ebionites (according to Epiphanius *Hær.* xxx. 2, liii. 1), believed that Adam and Christ were one; others of the sect that the 'Second God,' created before the angels, came down successively as the Recurrent Prophet, until at the last he suffered death only to rise again in glory clothed in Adam's body.

The Clementines, dating from the same centre (*c.* 250 A.D.), presuppose throughout the book and dogma of the

[1] Cf. Crooke's admirable chapters on Criminal- and Martyr-cult in his standard work, *Popular Relig. in India.*

Elkesaites; here again Adam and Christ are one. But already the late Chaldean Planet-rulers (seven in number), had entered into the world of speculation, and the heathen *Gnosis* largely builds upon this; for Gnosis, after all, is merely an extension of the old Egyptian individualist magic, for securing safety from the demonic attacks in the next life and getting through safe to Paradise.[1] But, for the less selfish who still retained an interest in history and world-progress, this *spatial* theory gave way to a *temporal*; that is, instead of the common Four Ages we have seven.[2] The peculiar Mandean 'Gnostics' found to-day near Basra and in Khusistan have as their heroes Abel, Seth, and Enoch. Other Gnostics seem to reproduce the intimate relation of the Mother with the Tammuz-Adonis in Sophia's connexion with Soter; the Mandeans make Ur the devil marry his mother Namsur: the Magians are also believed to have recommended this as the holiest of all unions.

Mani, the great founder of a system which only narrowly escaped becoming a world-religion, learnt from every other creed and was perhaps indebted to the early Mandeans in century III. A.D. He has his own list of true prophets. Adam, Seth, Noah, Abraham, probably Zoroaster and Buddha, and the phantom Christ (to be carefully distinguished from the diabolical Messiah of the Jews). If some of his school believed that this phantom was Primal Man himself come back in human form, this makes our point all the more clear. The *Clementine Homilies* which were taking final shape in Mani's lifetime are strongly dualist and the Seven Ages are marked by pairs of prophets, the true and the false: from Adam proceed *evil* Cain, *good* Abel; next Ishmael, Isaac; Esau, Jacob; Aaron, Moses; John Baptist, Christ; Simon Magus and Peter (cf. my article in *Studia Biblica*, 'Subordinate Dualism,' 133-188, Oxford, 1896). The *Recognitions* (the latin version) gives the follow-

[1] See my *Religious Thought*, pp. 586-600.

[2] This is first found in Christian writers in Austin, *Civ. D.* xxii. 30.

ing *paria destinata ab initio sæculi*; Cain, Abel; Pharaoh, Abraham; Philistines, Isaac; Esau, Jacob; Magi, Moses; Tempter, Son of Man; Simon Magus, Peter (iii. 61)—in the end there will be a climax of the duel, Anti-Christ and Christ in a last struggle. The names of these successive manifestations of the Divine Spirit differ, as we might expect, from time to time: the Seven Pillars of the world are often represented as *Adam, Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses*, and once again in the end of the ages as *Christ*. How this system gathered up all the sectarian tenets of Syria and the amalgam of Sumerian and Chaldean traditions may be seen in this: the *Clementines* are nothing but different forms of 'literary dress,' for a Gnostic Ebionism; of Essene Ebionism, Elkesai and his book were but a step in development; and it is impossible to doubt that the final influence upon the Essenes was, not the Mazdeism of Zoroaster or any syncretist Hellenism, but Buddhism.

10. Whatever may have been the subtle impersonalism and technical 'No-Soul' doctrine which Gautama taught to his inner circle, it is quite certain that it had nothing to do with the prodigious vogue of his school. As a propagandist religion, Buddhism had two or three main doctrines; that there was a law universally valid (*dharma*), that man's happiness consisted in knowing and observing it, that every now and again there appeared a great teacher who had discovered this cosmic secret and could impart it to his age. There was a whole series of 'buddhas'; Gautama never pretended to be either the first or the last, and the East has very largely taken him at his word.[1] Thus the *impersonal* side is much more important than the *personal*; the man is but the temporary vehicle of the Law.[2] The same kind of union of the two

[1] A very great proportion of Buddhists are really worshippers of *Maitreya* the coming Buddha, and are quite indifferent to the historic Gautama.

[2] Cf. my *Religious Thought*, 212-228.

may be seen in *visnu*-ite Avatarism, wherein Visnu takes on different shapes (beginning with those of pure totemism), to preach truth when the world is steeped in sin and misery. This doctrine has indeed taken the place of Buddhism in India, for the simple reason that it answers the same demand of the soul and provides a more certain and orthodox object of worship.

11. I must assume for the present purpose a theorem still in dispute—that both Therapeuts in Egypt and Essene Jews in their socialistic communities round the Dead Sea, fell under Buddhist influence. Ebionism is only the attempt to adapt the new Christian teaching to the old beliefs; our Lord was the last *avatar* of the Recurrent Prophet. The language of Hippolytus (ix. 14, x. 29, ed. Duncker, Gottingen, 1859), cannot be misinterpreted; it is not Pythagorism, it is the salient doctrine of the great Aryan 'Protestant' who was almost Pythagoras' contemporary.[1]

12. So many threads have been worked up into this religious tapestry that we must sum up before we can safely proceed. The Incarnationism of Anatolia reposes on the old belief in an impersonal 'mana' which is chained or imprisoned in the fetish-king, who is only tolerated so long as he is its effective vehicle: the regicide of the *Golden Bough* is the 'legitimate end of every reign.' From Persia came the doctrine of the halo of the divine king (*hvarena*) and, as we might expect from Zoroaster, a higher notion of the holder or wearer of the regal title.[2] From India came the thought of an Eternal Law, from time to time 'republished,' as our English Deists of century XVIII.

[1] I draw special attention to the words ἐν σώμασι πολλοῖς . . . κατὰ καιρούς . . . μεταγίζεσθαι, the individual and historic prophet is a vessel which the Divine Spirit uses and discards: in every Gnostic sect the heavenly Christ descends upon, speaks through, and then before the Passion deserts, the human person, Jesus.

[2] The *personalism* at the root of Iranian thought is clearly seen in the later reaction to an infallible *imam*, whose judgments are to supersede the rigid letter of the Koran—just as the Pope is to interpret the Bible and tradition.

would say, by a line of its servants and ministers who in their own right are nothing. In both these systems, the Crown or the Throne are loftier than the temporary occupant; the Law than the Prophet, the Great Mother than her short-lived consort. Both before and after Christ there were sects at work, in Judaism and in the church, striving to adjust their beliefs to these views, and becoming more or less orthodox in the attempt. From the third year of Trajan (100 A.D.) when Elkesai began to piece together his rhapsodies and preach a new faith and ritual, down to Mani, the great dualistic syncretist, an unbroken succession can be traced. Then came the Persian reconquest of Islam, under the refined but unorthodox Abbasids, and the entire transformation of Muslim tenets in the peculiar Shi'ite system. In this, it would appear, meet and blend the chief features of every earlier faith. We have begun with the element of the saint of folk-lore, the magician of romance: we have traced a connexion with the worthies of Hebrew Scripture and the earliest deities of Phoenicia: we have carried back the *cultus* of Ali and his two martyred sons to the Sumerian lament for Dumuzi, for Adonis the lord, transient mate of the Great Mother—dying to be reborn, symbol first of nature's changes and then (as man became more interested in himself) of the vicissitudes of the soul, earnest and guarantee (like Orphic Dionysus) of human immortality.

13. The true mystical features of this religious blend linger on to-day, not in the official Shi'ism of Persia and the Passion Plays of India but rather in the pagan survivals of Chaldea and the Lebanon. Devotion to Ali, instead of Mahomet, arose from very different causes in the various sections of Islam: to some it was a mere pretext for opposing an unpopular dynasty, in fostering the Fatimite cause, whose caliphs became mere tools of adventurers in one of the grandest systems of piratical democracy: to others the name implied the revival of a native creed

which had never quite lost adherents. These last are the more interesting section: in century XI. after the death of mad Hakim of Egypt a religion was preached in the Lebanon which has lasted till to-day. He too was a 'vehicle of deity,' and had not died but only disappeared. His envoy Darazi preached this creed with success among the tribes which were to bear the name 'Druze.'[1] Here in addition to the influences of which we have spoken, there is a distinct neo-Platonic current. God makes himself known by a series of *avatars*; and the number is raised from 7 to 70, Caliph Hakim being the last of these embodiments. Our Lord finds a place in the list but Mahomet is excluded.

The visible world emanates from the Divine Reason: Hakim here takes the place of Ali as its vehicle. But underneath this theology a pure nature-worship is still carried on: there are shrines on the hill-top in Hauran and sacred stones; goats are sacrificed in secret to an evil spirit; a calf's image is said to be kept in a niche, and traces of phallic cult are confidently spoken of.

14. The *Nosairis* are much more faithful to Ali: he is the last *avatar* of God in the seventh and last world-age: 'I bear witness,' says the initiated, 'that there is no god but Ali ibn abu Talib,' who is *Mana*, idea, λόγος. Ali *created* Mahomet, and the two together with Salman ul Farisi form a trinity. One division (the *Shamalis*) identify these with *heaven, sun*, and *moon*—a very clear proof that Elyun is in their minds. The good Nosairi go to the stars, the bad suffer a longer series of transmigration; but even the good have (like Istar and the Gnostics) to be transformed seven times before they can reach heaven. Like the Ismaili in general they divide the world-history into seven ages corresponding to the seven planets of later Chaldeism: in each appears an embodiment of deity.

[1] Surely the acme of absurdity is reached when we are referred in Hastings' *Dict. Rel. Eth.*, under the heading "Druses," to Sects (Christian)!

The Nosairi have a double set, the prophet and his attendant; their *asas* (bases) are Abel, Seth, Joseph, Joshua, Asaph, Peter (?) and Ali, the *natiqs* (utterers) Adam, Noah, Jacob, Moses, Solomon, Christ, Mahomet.[1] We notice the influence of the solar cult of Emesa wherein *Helios* and *El* were confused: from this place issued the peculiar dynasty of the later Severians who brought Solarism into Rome (218-235 A.D.). The true prophet always disappears (as the reigning monarch among the Ismailians) and leaves a grand vizier to administer as deputy till he comes back again. One Nosairi sect is called the *Ghaibi*; for the present time is that of God's absence (*ghaibah*) or invisibility; it is the Absent who is true God, and this is equated with the air, or, as some say, with the sky. Another sect is still more interesting; the *Kalazi* hold that the moon, not the *sun*, is Ali's abode, and that by drinking wine one reaches a closer relation with the moon—a curious parallel to the *Soma*-draught and the identification of the moon with Soma. The moon too may be the great lunar goddess Astarte, and the real background (as in Gnosticism) of the whole theology; the transient vehicles being (like Attis or Tammuz) her ministers or theophanies.

15. The last sect to be named is the *Kizil Bash*, a tribe or race spreading from Siva and Angora to Erzerum: they are crypto-pagans and only conform to Islam when it is unsafe to deny it. God is one in three; the second person of the Trinity is Ali, the third Christ. Like orthodox Shi'ites they bewail the death of Hasan and Hosein (a relic of the Tammuz-cult): in the *Muharram* festival, the celebrant chants hymns in honour of Moses and David, Ali and Christ: lights are extinguished and in the dark they lament their sins; when they are rekindled the priest gives absolution and administers the sacrament, bread

[1] It is clear that the exact arrangement and names of the vehicles vary indefinitely. We note that the *Shamali* sect also bears the name *Shamsi* (from Shamash the ancient sun-god).

dipped in wine, but to this the Kurds add the immolation of a sheep and distribute the flesh at the same moment. But underneath the surface the 'Red Caps' are *animists*, regarding rocks and mountain ridges as sacred (that is, dangerous), and offering sacrifice to them: at its rising and setting they adore the Sun; at Manasgerd they worship at a rock-hewn fire-altar. Their extinction of the lights seems to associate them with the Ismaili sect, the Chiragh-Kush in Central Asia—whom Mirza Haidar the Mogul so cordially detested, as practising the most sinful orgies under cover of darkness. These we know to have been a branch of Assassins, and the Kizil Bash are very likely lineally descended from them. Both Cumont and de Cholet believe that there is some truth in these rumours: there is at certain times a ritual sacrifice of chastity to Ma or Anaïtis (as to Istar of Babylon): 'once a year' says the latter (*Arménie*, Paris, 1892) 'a young maiden is offered to the *dedeh* (priests); if the offspring is a son he becomes a priest, a daughter is made a consecrated nun.' One suggestion in conclusion: the *Yezidi* (or devil worshippers) regard a lower spirit as creator, permitted to frame the world by the Supreme, as in Gnostic systems: he is in consequence author of such evil as there is and is represented as a *peacock*: but ταὼς = Tammuz, and it seems likely that the belief is an ascetic reaction against a pure nature-god of vegetation and life.

16. In sum, we can trace every stratum of religious belief in these Syncretizing Sects of modern Syria. The early nature-worship of a female principle with her short-lived consorts; the Greek sun-worship (*helios*) uniting with the Semitic *el* and the Phoenician *elyun* or highest; the buddhist-ebionite theophanies or rather periodic vehicles of a divine message from the unseen world; Hebrew worthies like *Elijah* obviously made welcome because of the name; Christian features thinly overlaid; the Mahommedan Caliph, *Ali*, likewise rekindling ancient memories by

the familiar sound. And throughout, the persistent suggestion of an Unknown God who is dimly made known to men by a series of prophets who come and go with the ages; or perhaps rather, by a Spirit (which is divine but not God) successively animating and inspiring one teacher after another, being identical in all: it is undying and unresting, the wandering Jew of the spiritual world. But behind this is working the perpetual attraction of a suffering and dying deity, one who cannot be the supreme God on whom the universe depends because of these vicissitudes, but who is therefore closer and dearer, and more helpful to mankind. Whether this deity be, as in earlier *naturism*, merely, a symbol of the vegetation which dies down to revive again, or, in times of more self-conscious *humanism*, an unselfish martyr for a cause, such a figure alone can bring comfort to man's soul and give a reason and motive to his struggling life. F. W. Bussell.[1]

[1] Dr. Moses Gaster, writing on the *Rumanian Bird and Beast Stories* (London, 1915), suggests that, in the peculiar 'paulician' dualism found current in the Balkans, the story and properties of the prophet *Elijah* have become mixed with the character of the sun-god *Helios*. In *Story* xv., when Peter, John and *Elias* had left, the heathen gods take Paradise by assault and carry off sun, moon, stars, and the throne of judgment into Hell. It is Elias or *Ilie* who helps angels and saints to recover the heavenly bodies, and give light and warmth once again to the world.

CLASSIFIED CATALOGUE OF BRAND MATERIAL.

(*Continued from* p. 176.)

DECEMBER

may be treated as consisting of the Advent or Preparation season, and of part of Christmastide.

ADVENT.

ENGLAND.

"Martinmas is come and gone
Christmas now is drawing near.
There's no' a piece mutton in a' the house
To serve for Christmas cheer."

Northumberland (Wooler).

OBSERVANCES.	LOCALITY.
Marriages (formerly) forbidden, Advent to Hilary Term.	
Curfew begins six weeks before Christmas - - - -	Salop (Prees).
Bellman proclaims beginning of winter (Dec. 1st) - - -	Colchester.
Schoolboys bargain for holidays (see Dec. 6th) - - - -	Chesh., Derby and North.
"Curning" (begging for corn) begins - - - - -	Cheshire.
Wassailing began - - -	Leicestersh. (Claybrook).
1st Sunday in Advent.	
Village Feast (bull-baiting up to 1813) - - - - -	Penzance.

2nd Thursday before Christmas.	LOCALITY.
"Picrous Day." Tinners' holiday, in honour of SS. Piran and Chiwidden, legendary discoverers of tin - - -	East Cornwall.
Last Thursday before Christmas.	
"Chiwidden Day," "Jew-whydden" or "White Thursday." Tinners' holiday; reputed anniversary of first sale of white smelted tin - - -	*Ibid.*
Last Week before Christmas.	
"Bull week" (extra work and extra pay) - - - -	Sheffield.
Last Three Mondays before Christmas.	
Church Bells ring at or about 5 a.m. - - - - -	Bucks. (Flore, nr. Weedon). Leicestershire. Northants. (Collingtree). Oxon. (Wardington), Middleton Cheney).

FIXED FESTIVALS IN ADVENT.

		OBSERVED IN
December 1st.	St. Barchan (kept O.S.)	Scotland (locally).
,, 6th.	St. Nicholas - - -	England (formerly general).
,, 12th.	St. Finan - - -	Scotland and Ireland.
,, 13th.	St. Magnus - - -	Orkney and Shetland.
,, 16th.	St. Tibba - - -	England (local).
,, ,,	O Sapientia - - -	England.
,, 17th.	Sow-day - - -	Orkney.
,, 21st.	St. Thomas the Apostle -	England, Wales, Scotland.

1ST DECEMBER—ST. BARCHAN'S DAY.

SCOTLAND.

LOCAL OBSERVANCE.

Kept by Old Style, so falls on Dec. 13th. Fair held - - - Renfrewshire (Kilbarchan).

6TH DECEMBER—ST. NICHOLAS'S DAY.

St. Nicholas of Myra, Bishop and Confessor, d. A.D. 343. Patron of fishermen, sailors, and children.

ENGLAND.

I. OBSERVANCES.[1]	OBSERVED IN
Boy Bishop officiates. (Middle Ages, abolished 1542). Examples at -	Beverley, Bristol, (St. Nicholas's Church) Exeter, Hereford, Heton (nr. Newc.-on-Tyne), Ipswich, Norwich, St. Paul's, Salisbury, Worcester (St. Nicholas's Church).
Schoolmasters "barred out" (till "orders" given for following year's holidays) - - -	Northumbd., Cumbd., Westmd., Cheshire (Northwich,[2] Stockport), Derbyshire,[2] Yorksh.
A school holiday - - - -	Oxon. (Burford).
Privileged drinking by schoolboys, 1686 - - - - - -	Somerset (Curry Yeovil).
II. LOCAL OBSERVANCES.	
Gambling by Mayor and Aldermen	Bristol.
Election of Deputy-Mayor in Church-Tower - - - -	Brightlingsea (St. Nicholas's Church).
Day observed up to date of Reform Act - - - - - -	Brighton (St. Nicholas's Church).

[1] The custom of conveying presents to children secretly on St. Nicholas's Eve, "although unknown with us, is still retained in some parts of the Continent and in America, to the present day," says a correspondent of *Gent. Mag.* in 1827 (pt. i. p. 407). It is evidently only since then that it has become common in England to ascribe Christmas presents discovered on awaking to "Santa Claus."

[2] A week before Christmas and Easter, Northwich. End November, Derbyshire.

12TH DECEMBER—ST. FINAN'S EVE (FEILL FIONNAIN).

St. Finan, Confessor, Bishop of Clonard, Ireland, 6th century.

SCOTLAND, IRELAND.

NAMES AND SAYINGS.	OBSERVED IN
The longest night in the year	Hebrides.
"As dark as St. Finan's night"	*Ibid.*
Saying. "On this night water becomes wine and stones cheese." (Boys persuaded to experiment)	*Ibid.*
"The day of the three suppers"	Sutherland (Mackay country).
Festivity proverbially compared to Christmas	

DECEMBER 13TH—ST. MAGNUS' DAY.

St. Magnus, Bishop of Orkney, 1104.

NAME. St. Magnusmas — Orkney (Birsay), Shetland.

(Formerly an important local festival.)

DECEMBER 17TH—"SOW-DAY."

OBSERVANCE.

Sows slaughtered (1793) — Orkney (Sandwick).

ENGLAND.

DECEMBER 16TH—ST. TIBBA.

(Local virgin saint locally honoured.)

Annual festival — Rutland (Ryhall, Hale Green).

DECEMBER 16TH—O SAPIENTIA.

(Opening words of Proper Anthem.)

Schoolboys' Festival — Oxford, 17th cent. Somerset (Curry Yeovil).

School Holidays began — Northumberland.

DECEMBER 21ST—ST. THOMAS, APOSTLE.

I. NAMES.

	OBSERVED IN
Mumping Day	Herts., Lincs., Norfolk.
Doleing Day	Kent, Staffs. (?), Sussex.
Gooding Day	Sussex, N.W. Wilts.
Clog-fair Day	Salop (Clun).

II. NATURAL PHENOMENA.

The shortest day in the year.

"St. Thomas grey, St. Thomas grey,
The longest night and the shortest day"
South Staffs.

Marriage on, involves early widowhood	North Yorksh.
Rules prevailing wind, 3 months	Worcestersh.
Ghosts appear	Co. Durham.
Divinations on Eve will be successful	
Sprig of evergreen under pillow, dream of husband	Staffs.
White onion, bought entering shop by one door and leaving by another, ditto	London.
Red onion stuck with nine pins, ditto	Derbyshire.
Invocation used without onion, etc.	Suffolk.
Lucky day for brewing, baking, killing pigs	North Country.
Lucky day for sowing broad beans	Kent (Hawkhurst).
Lucky day for setting shalots	Surrey (Camberley).

III. OBSERVANCES.

(*a*) *Begging Customs.*

The outstanding feature of St. Thomas's Day is the licensed begging for Christmas gifts by respectable cottagers who would not beg at any other time.[1] It is known as:

"Corning" or "curning"	Cheshire, Warwickshire.
"Courantin"	Salop (Clee Hills).
"Goodening"	Hertfordshire (Braughing).
	Kent (Newington-by-Sittingbourne), Sussex.

[1] Cf. Christmas Eve.

	OBSERVED IN
"Gooding" - - -	Cornwall, Derbysh. Glos. (Abson, nr. Mangotsfield, St. Briavels). Hants. (Bramshill, Hursley, New Forest, Otterbourne). Herefshire (Norton Canon). Kent. Leicestershire. Lincs. Northants (Peterborough, etc.). Salop (Eardington, nr. Bridgnorth). Staffs. (Cheadle). Sussex, Warwickshire. N.W. Wilts., Worcestershire. Yorks. (E. Riding).
"Mumping" - - -	Cheshire. Gloucestershire (Avening, Berkeley, Minchinhampton, Selsley). Herefordshire. Lincs. (Lincoln, Boston, Grantham, etc.). Norfolk, W. Somerset. Yorks. (Hornsea, E. Riding).
"Thomassing" - - -	Cambridgeshire (Great Gransden). Cheshire, Derbysh. Gloucestershire (Winchcombe). Leic., Lincs. Salop (Church Stretton, Much Wenlock, Pulverbatch, etc.). Staffs., Warwickshire. Yorks. (W. Riding).
Carried on by both sexes -	Cheshire. Glos. (Abson, Avening, Minchinhampton, St. Briavels). Staffs. (Cheadle). Sussex. Warw., Worc. Yorksh. (betw. Doncaster and Pontefract).

	OBSERVED IN
By women only (sometimes widows only) or mothers with children - - -	Beds., Cambs., Cornw., Derby., Essex, Glos., Hants., Heref., Hunts., Kent, Leic., Lincs., Northants., Rutland, Salop, Staffs., Somerset, Sussex, Warw., Wilts., Worc., Yorks. (Holderness and W. Riding).[1]
By children only - -	Glos. (Bretforton, Todenham). North Wilts. Worc. (Armscote, Leigh, Offenham). Yorksh. (Doncaster to Pontefract).
By " young people " - -	Glos. (Bretforton). Worc. (Leigh, Harvington, Offenham, etc.).
By boys - - - -	Glos. (Selsley).
Wheat begged - -	Chesh., Cornw., Derby. S. Devon [2] (Beesands and dist.). Heref. Kent (loaves at Barming). Lincs., Northants., Rutland, Salop, Staffs., Warw., Yorks.
Money begged - - -	Cambs. (Gt. Gransden). Glos. (Avening, Minchinhampton, Winchcombe). ? Hunts. Hants. (Bramshill, New Forest, Otterbourne). Lincs. (Axholme, Boston, Grantham, Grimsby, Lincoln, Louth). Norfolk, Staffs., Sussex, Warwickshire. Wilts. (Swallowcliffe). Worc., Yorksh.

[1] "Kitty Witches," women of the lowest class, their faces smeared with blood and wearing men's shirts over their clothes, formerly begged from house to house on a date forgotten. Probably St. Thomas's Day? YARMOUTH.

[2] Not confined to St. Thomas's Day.

	OBSERVED IN
Candles begged from grocers	Lincs. (Axholme, Grimsby).
Sweets, etc., begged	Glos. (Todenham). Worc. (Armscote).
Apples and ale begged, with "Wassail" rhyme	Glos. (Bretforton). Worc. (Leigh, Harvington, Offenham, etc.).
Women wear men's clothes to beg	Salop.
Women wear special costume	Staffs. (Eccleshall).
Mumpers (lads) act play at houses	Glos. (Selsley).
Mumpers (old folks and children) "mumble a traditional tale" as they go	Lincs. (Boston, Grantham, Lincoln).
Recipients present mistletoe	Staffs. (Cheadle).
,, ,, or holly	Worc. (Harvington).
Gifts sent to one centre and distributed	Cambs. (Gt. Gransden). Salop (Clun, Holgate). Staffs. (various places).

(*b*) *Bell-ringing Customs.*

"Ringing in" Christmas	Locality ?
Ringing at 5 or 6 a.m., or at daybreak (usually in order to give warning of the distribution of doles)	Bucks. (Granborough, Marsh Gibbon, Quainton, Stone, Swanbourne). Oxon. (Charlton on Otmoor). Warw. (Ettington, Bidford, Fenny Compton, Frankton, Harbury, Kineton, Southam, Tachbrook, Wellesbourne).

III. Special Local Observances.

"Youle-girth" (regulations for peaceful observance of Christmas, proclaimed at the pillory and four gates of the city)	York (16th cent.).

	OBSERVED IN
Mock friar taken in procession round the city (up to *circa* 1680)	York.
Mayor chosen under charter of James II. - - - - -	Dorset (Bradninch).
Tenants deposit modus for tithe on hay, in hole in tomb, before noon	Dorset (Thornford).
Endowed dole of bread and cheese thrown from church tower *Sunday before Christmas* - - -	Middlesex (Paddington).
" Dole-money "distributed" about Christmas " - - - - -	Yorksh. (West Haddlesey).
" Duchess Dudley's Charities " distributed - - - - -	Warw. (Stoneleigh Abbey).
Church Charities distributed -	Shropshire (Edgmond).
Millers present their customers with wheat - - - - - -	W. Yorksh.

WALES.

I. Name.

Dy' gwyl Tomas.	
Parsnip Day - - - - -	Breconsh.

II. Observances.

(*a*) *Viands.*

Parsnips - - - - -	Breconsh.

(*b*) *Begging Customs.*

Wives and mothers ask doles of money, etc. - - -	South Wales.
Both sexes do so - - -	Denbighsh. (Meivod, Llantisilio).
" Cenad-y-meirw," cakes of wheaten flour, made for distribution - - -	Denbighsh. (Henllys).

SCOTLAND.

I. Name.

" Tammas-mas E'en " (20th December, O.S.) - - - - -	Shetland.
" Five nights afore Yule " - -	Shetland.

II. Observances.

Prohibitions.	OBSERVED IN
Spinning-wheel removed and dismantled - - -	Shetland.
Upper stone of handmill turned upside down, for fear of witches or warlocks	Shetland.
Work suspended for fear of injury to the unborn -	Shetland.
Amusements also forbidden after " day set " - -	Shetland.
Occupations.	
Peats brought in for Yule fire	Shetland.
Smoked sheep's or cow's head steeped for next Sunday's dinner - - - - -	Shetland.

III. Local Observance.

(Cf. also " The Yules " (Christmas) - - -	Shetland.
Schoolmaster barred out -	Lowlands (Berwicksh. and Roxburghsh.).

COLLECTANEA.

Avril-Bread.

There lies before me now a piece of white paper in which has been folded up and sealed with black sealing-wax a funeral biscuit. Upon it is printed, framed in black lines 5 mm. in thickness, the following inscription :

BISCUITS FOR THE FUNERAL OF

MRS. OLIVER,

Died November 7th 1828. *Aged* 52.

Thee we adore, eternal Name,
And humbly bow to thee,
How feeble is our mortal frame !
What dying worms we be.

Our waisting (*sic*) lives grow shorter still,
As days and months increase ;
And every beating pulse we tell,
Leaves but the number less.

The year rolls round and steals away,
The breath that first it gave ;
Whate'er we do, where'er we be,
We're travelling to the grave.

PREPARED BY

T. ROBINSON, SURGEON, SETTLE.

The space enclosed by the black frame is 78 by 97 mm. The width of the paper as folded is about 140 mm. The end is

torn off. It is consequently not possible to ascertain its original length; but it was probably about 150 mm.

This must be one of very few material relics of a custom once prevalent in Yorkshire and elsewhere of handing each mourner at a funeral a packet of cake or biscuit. Canon Atkinson, describing the custom in the North Riding, speaks of the cakes as "small round cakes of the crisp sponge description." They were called "Avril-bread." [1] At Whitby a correspondent of *Notes and Queries* says: "A round, flat, rather sweet sort of cake-biscuit is baked [he wrote in 1875] expressly for use at funerals, and made to order by more than one of the bakers of the town; it is white, slightly sprinkled with sugar, and of a fine even texture within. One would think it not well adapted to be eaten with wine." [2] In Upper Wensleydale in the West Riding another correspondent speaks of "a funeral cake made of Scotch short-cake, round, five to seven inches in diameter and three-quarters of an inch thick (price 4d., 6d., or 8d.), divided into two halves, laid together, and sealed in a sheet of white paper." [3] In Leicestershire biscuits are stated to be "commonly provided as refreshments for mourners before leaving the house on the day of a funeral," and to be similar to those described at Whitby, "excepting in shape, being flat finger biscuits, about four inches long and one broad." [4] At Sebergham, ten miles from Carlisle, what was given was "a small piece of rich cake carefully wrapped up in white paper and sealed." [5] In Lincolnshire, on the Welsh border of Herefordshire, and at and about Market Drayton in Shropshire, oblong sponge biscuits, or sponge fingers, are given to the assembled mourners.[6] In Radnorshire a hot plum-cake fresh from the oven used to be handed round to the guests, broken in

[1] *Forty Years in a Moorland Parish*, 227. The word *avril* is said to be derived from *arval*, heir-ale, the name of the feasts given by Icelandic heirs on succeeding to property.

[2] *N. and Q.* 5th ser. iv. 326.

[3] *N. and Q.* 5th ser. v. 236.

[4] *N. and Q.* 5th ser. v. 218.

[5] *N. and Q.* 5th ser. iv. 397.

[6] *Antiquary*, xxxi. 331; Mrs. Leather, *Folk-Lore of Herefordshire*, 121; *Folk-Lore*, iv. 392. The writer of the last is in error in stating that the biscuits were, on the occasion referred to by her, given *across the coffin* (see *Legend of Perseus*, note at commencement of vol. iii.).

pieces, not cut with a knife.[1] At Cwm Yoy, in the Black Mountain, beer and cake are partaken of.[2] The practice in Upper Wensleydale, at Settle and at Sebergham of wrapping the cake or biscuits in white paper was also followed on the Shropshire border. The cakes there were square, one for each invited guest, "neatly wrapped in white note-paper with a deep black edge, and well sealed at the ends with sealing-wax."[3] Miss Burne writes to me: "I clearly remember (as a small child) the oblong 'funeral biscuits' wrapped in white paper sealed with black wax, distributed at the funeral of a great-uncle at Kingswinford in South Staffordshire, 1856. I watched my father unwrapping the little parcel he brought home from the ceremony.... They were still in occasional use at Newport, Shropshire, eleven miles from Market Drayton, in the eighties of the last century." The custom was probably once more extensive, confined, however, to persons who could afford the luxury of comparatively costly funerals.[4] A correspondent of the *Gentleman's Magazine* in 1802 described it thus: "It hath long been the custom in Yorkshire to give a sort of light sweetened cake to those who attended funerals. This cake the guests put in their pocket or in their handkerchief, to carry home and share among the family. Besides this, they had given at the house of the deceased hot ale sweetened, and spices in it, and the same sort of cake in pieces. But if at a funeral of the richer sort, instead of hot ale they had burnt wine and Savoy biscuits, and a paper with two Naples biscuits sealed up to carry home for their families. The paper in which these biscuits were sealed was

[1] Verbal statement by a Radnorshire woman to Rev. W. E. T. Morgan, vicar of Llanigon.

[2] Verbal information by Mr. Iltyd Gardiner, registrar of the County Court, Abergavenny.

[3] *Cymru Fu Notes and Queries*, ii. 275.

[4] It seems even to have spread as far afield as the island of Antigua, in the West Indies, where species of pastry, called "dyer-bread" and "biscuit-cakes," are said to have been formerly handed round at Negro funerals, enveloped in white paper and sealed with black wax (*Antigua and the Antiguans* [Anon.], ii. 188). It would be interesting to know how and whence the custom was introduced.

printed on one side with a coffin, cross-bones, skulls, hacks, spades, hour-glass, etc.; but this custom is now, I think, left off, and they wrap them only in a sheet of clean writing-paper sealed with black wax."[1] The specimen from Settle points to an intermediate stage, when, probably under the influence of the Evangelical Revival, the skulls and other emblems of mortality had given way to pious but vapid doggerel. Can anyone explain what is meant by "Prepared by T. Robinson, Surgeon, Settle"? One would have thought it would be rather the undertaker who would be thus advertised.

Nor is it in this country alone that a special food is taken by the mourners. Passing over the foreign examples, however, it is probable that the custom of providing cakes or biscuits at a funeral is not remotely related to that known in Wales and the Marches as *Sin-eating*. The sin-eater, first described by John Aubrey in his *Remaines of Gentilisme and Judaisme*, was a man who was paid a small sum to receive, over the coffin, when a dead body was brought out of the house immediately before the funeral procession started, bread or cake and cheese with beer or milk, to be then and there consumed. By so doing he was held to take upon him all the sins of the deceased and thus free the latter from unrest and the disturbance of the survivors. The practice is witnessed to in more modern times by Pennant, who wrote a century later than Aubrey, and who seems to have had before him when writing a manuscript book of a bishop of St. Asaph written in the first half of the eighteenth century.[2] It is also described by the Rev. W. Bingley at the end of the century, as then usual in Carnarvonshire and elsewhere in North Wales,[3] and by Robert Jones, a Calvinistic Methodist minister, as formerly in vogue.[4] The late Matthew Moggridge of Swansea gave an account of it to the Cambrian Archaeological Association in the year 1852, and specified the neigh-

[1] *Gent. Mag. Lib.*, Manners and Customs, 70.

[2] *Tours in Wales*, ed. 1883, iii. 150.

[3] *A Tour Round North Wales*, 1800, ii. 233.

[4] *Drych yr Amseroedd* [1820], 50.

bourhood of Llandebie, near Swansea, as a place where the custom had survived to within a recent period.[1]

The evidence has been challenged by writers zealous for what has been thought to be the honour of Wales and the Marches on more than one occasion, but without success.[2] And recently discoveries in Herefordshire, where the custom of sin-eating was first recorded, have tended to confirm the old accounts. At Cwm Yoy the beer and cake, already mentioned, are partaken of by the assembled guests after the corpse is brought out and placed on trestles, before the funeral procession starts; and the ceremony is called "the Last Sacrament." Mrs. Leather relates that a resident in the neighbourhood of Hay on attending the funeral of the sister of a farmer near Crasswall, was to his surprise "invited to go upstairs to the room where the body was lying. He went with the brother and four bearers. At the bottom of the bed, at the foot of the coffin, was a little box, with a white cloth covering it. On it were placed a bottle of port wine, opened, and six glasses arranged round it. The glasses were filled, and my informant was asked to drink. This he refused, saying that he never took wine. 'But you must drink, sir,' said the old farmer; 'it is like the Sacrament. It is to kill the sins of my sister.'"[3] With this may be compared Mr. Addy's statements about the custom and belief in Derbyshire: "At a funeral in Derbyshire wine is first offered to the bearers who carry the corpse"—that is, as I understand it, before the body is removed. He goes on: "This custom is strictly maintained, the guests not receiving any wine until the funeral party has returned from church." He subsequently says, from the information of a farmer's daughter formerly residing at Dronfield, Derbyshire: "When you drink wine at a funeral every drop that you drink is a sin which the deceased has committed. You thereby take away the dead man's sins

[1] *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, N.S. iii. 350.

[2] The last time to my knowledge was in a correspondence begun in *The Times*, 18th, 24th September, 14th, 28th October, 1895, and continued in *The Academy* from the 9th November, 1895, to the 23rd May, 1896, and in *Notes and Queries*, 8th ser. viii. 288, 322; ix. 109, 169, 236, 296.

[3] *F.L. of Herefordshire*, *loc. cit.*

and bear them yourself." [1] Wine or ale was given with the "burying biscuits" in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire. Mulled ale and cold ale, both spiced, are described as given at a Welsh funeral, shortly before starting for the churchyard; and they are said to have been given "amid the most profound silence, like the grave," and administered "just as the Lord's Supper is administered, and almost with the same reverence." [2] A foreigner, who witnessed a nobleman's obsequies at Shrewsbury in the early years of King Charles II., states that the minister made a funeral oration in the chamber where the body lay, and "during the oration there stood upon the coffin a large pot of wine, out of which every one drank to the health of the deceased. This being finished, six men took up the corps (*sic*) and carried it on their shoulders to the church." [3] It is I think impossible to sever the drinking of a ritual drink from the eating of a ritual food on the occasion of a funeral. They were both parts of one and the same observance, which in all cases took place just before the procession started for the churchyard. When the custom was in decay, sometimes the one, sometimes the other would survive.

Many years ago I discussed the meaning of the practice in the second volume of *The Legend of Perseus* in connection with similar rites in other parts of the world. The conclusion I then came to I still hold good—namely, that it is a relic of a very ancient custom, attributed by Strabo to (among others) the ancient Irish, of eating the flesh of dead kinsmen.

E. Sidney Hartland.

[1] Addy, *Household Tales and Traditional Remains*, 123, 124.

[2] *Notes and Queries*, 5th ser. v. 236; 7th ser. xi. 353. Brand and Ellis, *Observations on Popular Antiquities*, ii. 153 note, quoting the *Gent. Mag.* 1798. Atkinson, 227. *Antiquary*, xxxi. 331. *Cymru Fu Notes and Queries*, ii. 271, quoting the author of *Rhys Lewis*.

[3] Brand and Ellis, ii. 153 note, quoting *Antiq. Repert.*

NOTES ON ENGLISH FOLKLORE.

Curious Wedding Custom and the Result.—At West Hartlepool County Court to-day a schoolboy named Keith was awarded £5 damages against Joseph Franklin, a miner. After a colliery wedding hot and cold coppers were thrown in accordance with custom, and it was alleged that a hot coin thrown by the defendant out of a window went down the boy's back and burned him severely, so that he was absent from school eight weeks.

(*Edinburgh Evening Dispatch*, 6th July, 1917.)

Marrick, Swaledale, N. Yorks.

Church Removal.—The village is on a hill, and the Church at the bottom. The Devil is said to have moved the Church from the top of the hill to its present position.

(Mrs. DAY, Minchinhampton, native of Swaledale.)

Stow-o'-Nine Churches, near Daventry, Northants.

Church Removal.—They tried to build the Church nine times (hence the name) and every time it was overthrown.

(From Mr. Fennemore, farmer, *æt.* 90, native.)

Inkberrow, Worcestershire.

Charm for Thrush.—Old Mrs. Perks, born 1801, farmer's wife, married a man with the same surname as herself. She was therefore believed to have gained the power of charming away "thrush" (or "white mouth") in babies, and children were brought to her from far and near. She muttered something over them, but would never tell what it was. (From her own family.)

Flowers unlucky.—A farmer's wife from Inkberrow (*cir.* 1887), visiting my mother at Aloechurch, was given a bunch of roses from our garden. But before going back to the house she contrived to drop them quietly, one by one. This was noticed by my young brother, who knew the reason—it brings bad luck to the chickens if flowers are taken inside a house.

Alvechurch, North-East Worcestershire.

Tradition of Seven Churches.—This village of about 1000 inhabitants, with Church (on pre-Norman site) dedicated to St.

Lawrence, has a tradition that it was once a place of some importance and had seven Churches. There is no external evidence in support of the tradition. The parish has for many centuries been closely connected with the see of Worcester, the Bishop being lord of the manor, and formerly having a country house there. (For the "Mayor's" procession and duckings in the mill-pond, cf. *Folk-Lore* (1912), vol. xxii. p. 449.) (Tradition current in Alvechurch thirty years ago.)

The longest day, June 24, St. Barnabas, Old Style—

Barnaby bright,
The longest day and the shortest night.

(Told me by M. H., old village woman, born 1817.)

Cf. "Barnaby the bright," Spenser, *Epithalamium.*

Rhyme.—Crows were supposed to say to each other—

"Dead horse! Dead horse"!
"Wheer? Wheer"?
"Theer! Theer"!
"Is he fat? Is he fat"?
"Bag o' bones! Bag o' bones."

(M. H., born 1817.)

Rattling of Window as Omen.—The carrier's wife was sitting up one night with her old mother, whose illness was not considered serious. "I always thought she was going to get better until the window rattled, and then of course I knew as she was going to die." The old woman died shortly afterwards.

(From the speaker herself, *cir.* 1895.)

Pigeon as Omen.—A pigeon alighting on the window-sill was regarded as an omen of some disaster.

(From farmer's daughter, *cir.* 1895.)

Laying a Ghost.—Old Parson Tonyn, rector in the early part of the last century, was sent for to lay a ghost. He was said to have bound it down to walk no more for as many years as there were ears of corn in the nearest field or drops of rain in the next shower.

(Told me by old members of my family, who belonged to Parson Tonyn's congregation.)

Minchinhampton, Gloucestershire.

Weather Proverb.—The fickle weather of May is described by the proverb :

May, soon or late,
Always makes the old cow quake.

(Heard several times quoted by old natives, in May, 1917.)

Stroud District, Gloucestershire.

Swallowing a Frog.—Early in 1916 this story was being much talked about, and I heard it from several sources. A woman had lately swallowed a frog, or a frog's egg, which lived and grew inside her. She was taken to Stroud Hospital. "And they tried to open her, but they couldn't open her, because it moved about. And she was in such agony that she asked them to give her poison and put her out of her misery. So they wrote to the King to ask if they might poison her, and the King wrote back to say *No, they mustn't.* Then the doctor put a piece of cheese on her tongue, and the frog smelt it and came up, but as it came up it choked her. And they do say that frog weighed half a pound."

(Enquiries at Stroud Hospital failed to discover *any* foundation for the story.)

Beesands and Beeson, S. Devon.

Ghosts.—An old woman was met by a coach and headless horses; she died soon after.

A clump of trees (looking rather as if a tumulus had stood there) on the road between Beeson and Beesands, is said to be "a wisht place." "Things without heads or tails" have been seen there.

The ghost of a bad man used to be seen on a white horse at Matscombe Cross (*i.e.* cross roads).

In a haunted room, sleepers have been pinched black.

(From fisherman's daughter, *æt.* 40. 1910.)

Divination.—Fasten a pod of nine peas over the door, and you will see your future husband. An "even ash" [ash leaf with an even number of leaflets] will answer the same purpose.

(Same authority.)

Piskies.—When the piskies have been hard at work threshing corn, if you listen through the keyhole of the barn you can hear them saying to each other: "Do you sweat? I sweat!" "Do you sweat? I sweat!"

Piskies will lead you round and round a field, but you can find your way out of it if you turn your pocket inside out.

(From fisherman's daughter, *æt.* 40. 1910.)

Stokenham, S. Devon.

Church Removal—They tried to build the Church in another spot, but as fast as they built it up, the devil pulled it down again.

(From tradition still current in the parish. 1910).

Denbury, near Newton Abbott, Devonshire.

Ancient Encampment.—[Denbury Hill, or Denbury Down, has an encampment.] There is also to be seen an ancient stone, with all the markings thereon, with which the Danes sharpened their weapons of war. [Treasure is said to be hidden there, and these two rhymes are current]:

"When Exeter was a furzey down,
Denbury was a borough town."

"If Denbury Down was levelled fair,
Denbury could plough with a golden share."

(*Illustrated Western Weekly News*, 5 August, 1911, page 24.)

Trelawne, near Looe, Cornwall.

Well of St. Nun.—[The Well of St. Nun, or St. Ninnie, also called "Pisky's Well," has this said about it]: "Take what water yau mind to out o' the well, it'll allus fill again; yau can't empty un, nor can yau move un. They uv tried with oxen to move the bowl, but yau can't." [The bowl contains about five or six gallons.]

(*Illustrated Western Weekly News*, 5 August, 1911, page 24.)

Clifton, Bristol, Gloucestershire.

Bridal Custom.—The night before the wedding, the bride was dressed by the bridesmaids in her very oldest night attire. This is known to have been done at the wedding of a doctor's daughter, *cir.* 1872.

(From the sister of one of the young bridesmaids on that occasion).

Yeovil, Somerset.

Tip of a Tongue.—When cold tongue was carved at table, the extreme tip was sliced off and presented to one of the company. "Keep that in your purse, and then you will never be without something in it."

(From granddaughter of former Mayor of Yeovil, *cir.* 1865.)

Green Garters.—If a younger sister married before an older one, the latter was said to dance in green garters at the wedding.

(Miss C. N. Mayo, Minchinhampton, of Yeovil family.)

Garters as Heirlooms for Brides.—Old Captain Worsfold, of Yeovil, who died *cir.* 1830, knitted garters in variegated silk, which he gave to his young nieces with the injunction that each girl should wear them on her wedding day, and hand them down to her female descendants for use on similar occasions. One pair at least of these garters has been carefully preserved and used by numerous brides; a list of the wearers is kept, the last name having been added about fifteen years ago.

(From Miss C. N. Mayo, Minchinhampton, great-great-niece of Capt. Worsfold.) J. B. PARTRIDGE.

NEGRO PROVERBS COLLECTED IN JAMAICA, 1887.

If you can't get Turkey, you must satisfy with John Crow (buzzard).

'Cornful dog nyam (eat) dirty pudding some day.

Cutakoo (knapsack) no yerry (hear) what hinn massa yerry.

Woman vain never done.

One finger say "Look yonder," tree finger say "Look here."

When you trow rock-a-tone at pigstye, de pig you yerry cry Quee Quee is the one you hit.

When you sleep wi' dog you catch him flea.

You neber see empty bag 'tan up.

You neber see empty pot boil over.

Duck and fowl feed togedder, but don't roost togedder.

When man say him no mind, den him mind.
When puss belly full, den him say ratta (rat) bitter.
Neber 'trow away your 'tick till you get atop of the hill.
Old fire'tick no hard fe catch.
One tief neber like see 'noder tief carry long bag.
Play wid monkey, no play wid him tail.
Play wid puppy, puppy lick your face.
No fe want of tongue cow no talk.
No trow away dutty water before you hub clean.
If you want to lick ole woman pot, you scratch him back.
Little crab hole spoil big race horse.
Man sleep on a fowl nest, but fowl nest no him bed.
Full belly tell hungry belly "Take heart."
Goat say him hab wool, sheep say him hab hair.
Hab money hab fren.
When cotton tree fall, billy goat jump ober him.
What yie can't see, mout' can't talk.
When hand full him hab plenty company.
Tree look ever so sound, woodpecker know what will do fe him.
Trouble neber blow shell.
Two bulls can't 'tan in one pen.
When cloud come sun no set.
Spider and fly no make bargain.
Playstone kill bird.
Same knife kill goat will kill sheep.
Rockatone at ribber-bottom no feel sun hot.
Shoes alone know if 'tocking hab hole.
Sickness ride hoss come, take foot go away.
Dog run fe him character, hog run fe him life.
Cunny better dan 'trong.
De tune you playing no de one I dancing.
Fisherman neber say him fish 'tink.
Backra work neber done.
Cock mout kill cock.
Cockroach neber in the right before fowl.
Cotton tree neber so big but little axe cut him.
Coward man keep whole bones.

Behind dog it is Dog, before dog it is Mr. Dog.
Better fe fowl say Dog did, than fe dog say Fowl did.
Bragging ribber neber drown somebody.
Alligator lay egg, but him no fowl. CYRIL F. GRANT.

SOME CAMBERLEY FOLKLORE.

A gardener told me that "you should plant shallots on the shortest day and gather 'em on the longest day."

A good deal of legendary matter has gathered round an old tower in the grounds of a girls' school here. The following are the chief stories told about it:

Dick Turpin used it as a hiding place.

It was once seven stories high and was used as a beacon to direct travellers along the Portsmouth road.

It was built by a gentleman who intended to make it the hall of a great mansion he was going to build. A drawbridge was to be made which could be let down to connect the house with the main road.

The girls of the school say that there is a secret passage leading from the tower to the cellars underneath the school.

E. M. RICHARDSON, The Knoll, Camberley.

COUNTRY TALES FROM CORNWALL.

I was out to help shoot the rooks of a nice old J.P. man, about ten miles from here, at his place in Cornwall. He told me that one day he met a little girl walking along a lane near Lostwithiel who asked him to eat a cake. He said that he had already breakfasted and did not particularly want a cake, but she would insist on his eating her cake, and sitting on a stone while doing so. So he finally took it to please her, and was relieved to find it was only a tiny one. The little girl ran back.

On proceeding and turning the corner of the road he came across a christening party consisting of two men, some women and a baby in arms. One of the women came up to him and said, "You are the gentleman who blessed the baby. Thank you, sir." He expostulated; said he had done no such thing,

and asked which baby. She told him it was hers, and that by sitting on a stone and eating the cake he had blessed the child.

Another time he met a man in a lane who said, "What have I done to you that you should put it on me?" He thought the man rather mad and took no notice, but the man continued his questioning, and finally Mr. ..... asked him what he meant. The man replied, "Are you not the man who put the evil eye on me?" Mr. ..... answered that he had not seen him before, didn't want to see him again, and had certainly not put the evil eye on him as he hadn't one to put. The man was going away quite satisfied when ..... called him back and asked what he would have done if he found that he had put the evil eye on him, and was informed that the man was quite prepared to go for him.

On another occasion Mr. ..... asked ..... to find out the local belief in the means generally practised in Cornwall to recall a lost lover, and found out that the magic was to burn some of the lover's clothes. On asking the effect that this drastic remedy had on the lover he was informed that he was "darned angry" when he returned.

He also related various cases of witches living entirely on their reputation as such, and frightening the locals into giving them presents of fish, etc. There was also a witch in the "Admirals Hard" (a landing stage in Plymouth), who on being asked a cure for one suffering from consumption, told that the cause was that the evil eye had been put on the patient by someone who was the next hunchback that they would see. The next hunchback they saw was the worthy schoolmistress at ....., who in consequence, and in spite of her worthiness, was boycotted.

(Collected by the late Capt. A. Moutray Read, V.C.)

Letters from Heaven.

(Cf. vol. xxvi. p. 284).

We take the following details from communications kindly sent us by two correspondents.—Ed.

Copies of the letter of our Lord to Abgarus, King of Edessa, are often found pasted on cottage walls in the south of England to preserve the house from witchcraft, and are also worn by

women to secure safety in childbirth. See for example *Folk-Lore Record*, vol. i. p. 24 (Sussex); *Folk-Lore*, vol. xiii. p. 418 (Berks); E. M. Leather, *Folk-Lore of Herefordshire*, p. 112; Henderson, *Northern Counties*, p. 194 (Devon); *Gent. Mag.*, 1867, part ii. p. 786 (Lincolnshire); cf. also Hone, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, ff.

An American correspondent, Mr. Alfred Ela, of Salem, New Hampshire, U.S.A., writes that "Similar letters may be found from Massachusetts to the Malabar coast. They are rare in New England, and appear to be more frequent among Germans than elsewhere." He gives the following references: A. Dieterich, *Kleine Schriften*, 234-242, 243-251; Bittner, in *Denkschriften*, of the Imperial Academy of Sciences at Vienna, 1906, li. pp. 1; Lukach, *The Fringe of the East* (London, 1913), pp. 244-6; and Fogel, "The Himmelsbrief" in *German American Annals*, vi. 296-310; and finally Father Delahaye, "Note sur la Legende de la Lettre du Christ tombée du Ciel," in *Bulletin de l'Academie royale de Belgique*, 1899, pp. 171-213, which traces the Letter, with many examples, from the end of the sixth century.

"In general," adds Mr. Ela, "the letter is written by Christ Himself, in letters of gold, or with His blood. It is carried to earth by the archangel Michael, or falls from Heaven, at Rome on the tomb of St. Peter, at Jerusalem, at Bethlehem, or in other celebrated places (p. 174)." See R. Priebsch in the *Modern Languages Review*, 1907, ii. 138-154, for an essay on such a letter at Jerusalem brought by pilgrims to Ireland. The Anglo-Saxon text is said (Delahaye, p. 189) to have been long known, but an allusion to such a letter, and especially to its magical power, was overlooked by so learned a commentator as Professor G. L. Kittredge in editing the *English and Scottish Popular Ballads* (Cambridge, 1904). On page 52 he says that the allusion in the following passage from the ballad of *King Arthur and King Cornwall*, is "probably to a book of Evangiles."

> "But now is the knight left without any weapons,
> And alacke! it was the more pitty;
> But a surer weapon than he had one
> Had never lord in Christentye;
> And all was but one little booke,
> He found it by the side of the sea.

"He found it by the sea-side,
Wrucked upp in a floode;
Our Lord had written with his hands,
And sealed it with his bloode."

The error of Mr. Kittredge's statement, says Mr. Ela, "is apparent."

TWO NOTES ON THE SISTER'S SON AND THE DUEL.

(1) The frequent mention of the sister's son as an important relationship in some early literatures has not been over-emphasised in regard to Anglo-Saxon literature. In the Battle of Maldon the relationship is referred to as follows:

"Wund wearð Wulfmāēr, waelraeste gecēās,
Byrhtnōðes māēg, hē mid billum wearð,
his swuster sunu, swīðe forhēawen."

These lines are curiously similar to the following in the Hunting of the Cheviot:

"The was slayne, with the dougheti Duglas,
Ser Hewe the Monggombyrry,
Ser Davy Lwdale, that worthe was
his sister's son was he."

In both these cases a warrior falls or is wounded, and the question "who is he?" is forestalled by descriptive apposition. That the relationship referred to in both cases should be that of the sister's son is interesting.

(2) The ballad of Chevy Chase refers in part to the manner of settling a dispute over hunting claims. The injured and the injurer meet each other with their followers and then there ensues a scene familiar to readers of heroic poetry, for the leaders, aware of the innocence of their men, wish the matter to be decided by single combat.

"Then sayd the doughtë Doglas,
Unto the lord Persë
To kyll alle these giltles men,
alas, it wear great pittë.

But Persë, thowe art a lord of lande
I am a yerle callyd within my contrë
Let all our men uppone a parti stande
and do this battell off the and of me."

Such methods of encountering amount almost to duelling, but there is in Chevy Chase an important modification of the duel proper. The followers on either side seemed free to act as they wished, to join the fight or to remain neutral.

> "Then bespayke a squyar off Northombarlonde
> Richard Wytharyngton was his nam.
> . . . . . .
> I wylle never se my captayne fyght on a fylde,
> and stande my selfe and loocke on."

The method of procedure seems to be the transition stage between the collective method of settling grievances and the method by duelling.

JOSEPH J. MACSWEENEY,
Bassenhill House, Bailey Howth, Co. Dublin.

SALE OF WIZARDS' SPELLS.

A Sorcerer's Apron of Human Bones.—A very varied selection of human and other relics came up for sale yesterday at Stevens's rooms in King Street, Covent Garden. They were perhaps more gory in association than is usual, even at Stevens's periodical sales of the weird and uncommon.

The gem of the collection, which realised £40, was a Tibetan apron of carved human bones, worn by a chief Llama sorcerer in the invocation of devils, which is extremely rare, and is said to be one of the finest in existence. It was secured from a monastery by an officer in the Younghusband Expedition. A Cingalese devil worshippers' shrine, the central figure representing the principal demon of disease and the large number of small masks on each side his avatars or incarnations, sold for six guineas. A New Hebrides human skull mounted and prepared to be used for sorcery, "the only one known," went for £7 10s., and £8 was paid for a New Guinea chief's head from the Okarivi tribe in the interior of the north-eastern area. New Guinea, Solomon Island, and skulls from other parts varied from £2 15s. to £4 each.

Three Mu-su or Mosso manuscript books, in the rarest of the primitive written languages of the Far East, written by the now extinct wizards of the remote tribes of the Tibet-Chinese hills,

fetched £35. The British Museum is said to have no specimen of the writing, of which Prince Henri d'Orléans made some attempt to interpret the signs in his book *From Tonkin to India*. The more important of the three manuscripts contains the wizard's spells and formulae for working his magic; the other two deal with special incantations to the Spirit of the Hills and to the serpent. A series of six ancient Coptic-Abyssinian illuminated manuscripts, formerly in King Theodore's library at Magdala, and believed to be the only ones ever offered for sale, produced a total of £28. *The Times*, 15th December, 1915.

Working Evil by a Duck's Foot.

Mrs. Montague's query (March, 1914, xxv. 126) is hereby renewed since various indications show that an answer is possible. An accursed people, the Cagots in sundry parts of France, had to wear a distinctive dress to which "was attached the foot of a goose or duck, whence they were sometimes called Canards" (*Ency. Brit.*, 11th ed. iv. 947). A use of such a foot in homoeopathic magic appears in Fogel's *Beliefs and Superstitions of the Pennsylvanian Germans*, No. 626, p. 137: "Put the foot of a goose on the stable door to keep the witches out." This book is doubtless not much known yet in Great Britain, and would have been a very good one if a little more care had been taken. It presents the language and beliefs from the upper Rhine of two hundred years ago.

A. Ela,
Rockingham, Boston, Mass.

Influence of an Expectant Mother.

The Editor is indebted to Sir James Frazer for the following note by Lady Fowler. He remarks that the superstition is new to him, and deserves record in *Folk-Lore*:

About twelve years ago, a young Australian couple came to visit their family property on the West Coast of Ross-shire. Accustomed to an open-air life, they took a great interest in the Home Farm on the estate of Dundonnell in Little Lochbroom, and the young wife

thought she would raise chickens on her own account, and accordingly she set a few hens on eggs. Some few weeks later, I asked if the chickens were doing well, and she told me *none* had hatched out, adding that the old women on the farm had asked her how she could expect them to do so, seeing that she herself had hopes of becoming a mother at some rather distant date. I could not account for this, to me, quite new idea, but I always hoped to find some day an explanation of it. This I never did find till in reading *Golden Bough* ("The Magic Art," vol. i. p. 114) I found there was an idea prevalent among certain peoples or tribes that an influence benign or malignant might be exercised by an expectant mother. I then asked one of my old Gaelic-speaking servants if they knew of the existence of any such fancies in the district, and she said "Yes," that the old people would be saying "that if a woman set a hen on eggs under these circumstances, either the eggs would hatch out, and the expected child would die before birth, or if all went well with the child, the eggs would certainly prove unfertile.

ALICE FOWLER.

FOLK-LORE FROM THE HIMALAYAS.

The Waking of a God.

THE Phāg festival takes place at the full moon of the month of Phāgun (February-March), and corresponds with the Hindu celebrations of the Holi.[1] The five deities hibernate during the winter months, going to sleep when snow commences to fall and not waking up again until their worshippers arouse them. The awakening takes place at the Phāg festival, and, although the rejoicings are often premature, they are intended to celebrate the advent of spring and the passing of winter. Each temple has a small window let into an outer wall of the second storey, and opening into the chamber where the images of the god are kept. A miniature image is placed below the window inside the room. A day or two previous to the full moon, two sides are chosen from the god's subjects, each consisting of from eight to eleven men. One party represents the god's defenders, the other his awakeners; but

[1] *Folk-Lore*, xxv. p. 55 *et seq.*

the members of both have to prepare themselves for their sacred duties by fasting until the appointed day arrives. On that day they arm themselves with snowballs, the snow being brought from the hills above, should none be lying round the homestead. The assailants take up a position about twenty paces from the temple, whilst the rest station themselves below the window. All hold their snowballs ready in the skirts of their long coats, and at a given signal the battle begins; but whereas the supporters of the god pelt his adversaries, the latter aim at the open window. Should no missile fall into the room before the ammunition is exhausted, the throwers have to pay a fine of several rams, for their indifferent markmanship has defeated the object of the fight. The god sleeps on, unconscious of the efforts made to break his slumbers, and other ways must be adopted to rouse him from his lethargy. Men creep up the staircase, carrying trumpets and conch-shells, and when all are ready blow a mighty blast in unison. Others bang the doors and rattle its massive chains, shouting to the god to bestir himself. But, at best, this is an unsatisfactory way of bringing the god to life, as distasteful to the victim as to his worshippers. The god dislikes having his privacy disturbed by an unseemly din outside his chamber; he prefers to wake as the pure snow strikes his face, cold and rude though the awakening be. And so, if the throwers succeed—as they usually do—in placing a ball through the window, the omen is considered most auspicious. They then dance and leap with joy, shouting that the god has risen from his couch. The *fidei-defensores*, however, pretend to be horror-stricken at the sacrilege; and the culprits have to flee under a running fire of abuse, snow, clods, stones, and even gun-shots. The chase continues through and round the village, until at length a truce is called. Both sides agree to abide by the decision of the god. His spirit, refreshed and strengthened by the winter's sleep, descends upon his diviner, who expounds the situation to his master and interprets the divine reply. This is always to the same effect. The deity commends his supporters for their efforts on his behalf; but he also thanks his assailants for their kindly thought in rousing him, now that the time of winter cold has passed and the season of spring time is at hand. Thus comforted, the worshippers prepare to listen to the

programme of the coming year, for the announcement of harvest prospects, as well as of prophecies of a general kind, is a feature of the festival. The confederacy of the five gods exercises jurisdiction in a subdivision of the Bashahr State, one of the Simla Hill States in the Punjab. Their worshippers belong to the Kuran subdivision of the Kanet tribe. The five gods are sometimes known as the Pānch Nāg, or five serpent deities; four of them are certainly serpent deities; the fifth is uncertain. Much information on the Nāga cult in this region will be found in *The Sun and the Serpent*, by C. F. Oldham, London, 1905.

H. W. Emerson.

Notes on Lincolnshire Folk-Lore.

Hedgehogs.

(*Folk-Lore*, xxviii. No. I. p. 101).

The belief that hedgehogs suck the milk of cows is common in Lincolnshire. Probably it occurs in all English counties.

Is it mere folk-lore, or not?

It is difficult to see how the muzzle of a hedgehog can draw milk from a cow, yet the following incident shows that some cows do object to hedgehogs.

Twenty years ago, or rather more, when I happened to be visiting my brother, the vicar of Cadney, Lincolnshire, I went into a field in which several cows were grazing quietly enough. They paid little attention to me as I passed by, but when I returned, carrying a hedgehog, to show to my little nephew, the formerly placid animals rushed wildly to and fro. Evidently the sight of "Master Prickles" upset their nerves.

So far as I remember, I have not met anyone who had come on hedgehogs sucking, but one or two of my acquaintances have seen them under suspicious circumstances, and many people assert that they have friends who have observed "the prickly otchin" drawing milk. There is a story here, in Kirton-in-Lindsey, of a certain farmer who noticing that his cows did not yield enough milk watched for the culprit, or culprits, and convicted hedgehogs of

being the thieves. Such a tale, though told of a man of the nineteenth century, may have come down from remote ages. But why were the cows at Cadney so manifestly troubled by the presence of *Erinaceus Europaeus*?

Hedgehogs, in Lincolnshire, are supposed to carry off fruit impaled on their spines. A young man once told me that when he was living as groom with a doctor who had an orchard, apples began to disappear in a manner which could not be accounted for. Finally, he and several other people observed a hedgehog with apples stuck on its prickles. On being cross-questioned the young man added that there could be no mistake, for he and his companion had a clear view of the animal.

A similar story is told of the porcupine in countries of which it is a native, but I cannot recollect the details.

MABEL PEACOCK.

SECOND-SIGHT IN LINCOLNSHIRE.

Is it usual for people with second-sight to have more than one vision with regard to a person about to die?

On May 15th, 1917, I was told the following story by a Lincolnshire woman: "My brother says he saw things before his first wife died. He was out with the sheep one night, and a coffin came past him, just as if it had legs (here the narrator made a gesture with her hand about eighteen, or twenty, inches from the ground, as if to show how high the coffin stood). After that, one day in the garden, he saw her in a black dress, and thought that she had got cleaned very early (*i.e.* that she had finished her heavy work, and made her afternoon toilet), but when he went into the house she hadn't got cleaned, she was doing up the fire. Very soon she died of blood-poisoning after the birth of a baby."

The brother had these visions "about thirty years ago," in the wapentake of Aslacoe. Ordinary ghost-seeing is still not unusual in Lincolnshire, but the faculty of seeing the disembodied spirit of a person yet alive is not often mentioned.

MABEL PEACOCK.

"The Ghost Waggon."

The following cutting is taken from a column headed "Round Scunthorpe" in the *Hull and North Lincolnshire Times*, April 21, 1917:

"Many of the wild and desolate scenes of Indian massacres in the West retain to this day their superstitious traditions of apparitions and other supernatural phenomena. Old plainsmen vouch for these 'visions' and 'ghosts,' and one of the traditions, that of 'The Ghost Waggon,' which rolls across the sky whenever a death occurs in a certain Western state, has been incorporated into the photo-play which tops the bill at the Pavilion on Monday."

The death cart, which is heard by night, is known in English folklore. For example, old people are acquainted with it in Lincolnshire. In Brittany it is seen as well as heard, the driver being Death himself in the form of the last person buried in the churchyard. These European carts follow the ordinary roads, however. So far as I know they do not traverse the sky. Can anyone give me an account of the American "Ghost Waggon"? Does it in all respects resemble the waggons of emigrants travelling over the praries? Further, is the belief in it connected with the appearance of mirages?

According to my experience, here in England, mirages occur much more frequently than is generally understood. Only yesterday I listened to the story of a train seen running east of Skegness, where there is nothing but sea. It was supposed to be the reflection of a train at some distance behind the spectators on the west. Mirages off Skegness are not uncommon, and I understand that the shallow water on a sandbank is supposed to act as a reflecting surface.

Does any English folklore appear to relate to mirages, or to those deceptive meteoric conditions which now and then change a landscape in such a marvellous manner that what is in reality a fertile river-flat may resemble a Scotch salt-water loch backed by high hills?

Mabel Peacock.

The "Nutons."

According to popular tradition in Belgium, Northern France, and also I have heard in the Rhine Valley, and faintly through other parts of Europe, there used to be a race of cave-dwellers known in French dialect as "Nutons" or sometimes "Gnutons." The Meuse Valley abounds in great rocky walls of calcareous cliffs, frequently containing caves. Generally there is one called the "Grotte des Nutons." In one place there are the "Grottes du Nuton," the several caves of the one Nuton, but the other way about is more common. They hid themselves away during the daytime, only coming out at night, and were very timid. They would do work for you if you left it at the entrance to the cave in the evening with something in payment. It should be food (especially milk) for preference, or pretty well anything except money. In the morning the gift would have disappeared and the work would be done. Their speciality was boot-mending, also mending pots and pans. According to some people there are still a few left, although most people believe them to be extinct.

Thus far the Walloon tradition as far as I have been able to collect it.

I have heard an old Irish nurse tell children that the fairies lived "in holes in the ground," that most of them were dead, but that a few still lived.

I have heard that they are known in Italy as "cavernicoli," but beyond a faint idea that magicians occasionally lived in caves I have been able to find no traces of them at Genoa.

A. Quin-Harkin.

Some Superstitions of the Mexican Indians.

A few years ago I had the opportunity of observing the habits and mode of life of various tribes of Mexican Indians, while I was engaged in exploring the little known tropical forests of some of the coastal provinces of Mexico. As these people inhabit the dense primeval forests of the Gulf coast, many of their superstitions naturally deal with the trees, the birds, and animals; some of which

are held in the greatest abhorrence, while others are considered to be of most happy omen.

1. *Beliefs concerning Birds, Insects and Animals.*

In Northern Vera Cruz (*e.g.* in the cantons of Tantoyuca, Túxpam, etc.), the natives of the forest look upon the owl with great dread, for they believe it to be the re-incarnation of the Spirit of Evil. If, when setting out on a journey, they encounter one of these birds on the way, they will immediately abandon their journey and return to their huts at once. If they hear an owl hoot, they will cover their ears with their hands and hasten away, for they say "When an owl hoots, an Indian dies" (Quando el tecolote canta, el Indio muere).

They consider butterflies to be of good or bad omen, according to their colours. White and yellow butterflies bring good luck and fortune, while blue and black butterflies are held to be the forerunners of sickness and death to them or their friends. I remember the case of an old Indian mozo, whom we employed to attend to our horses, who was always in great fear when any of those large bright blue butterflies—so common in tropical forests—fluttered across our paths. Beetles and ants also are considered good or bad omens according to their colours.

Most curious are their beliefs concerning dogs. They maintain that if a dog is restless and howls at night, there are evil spirits abroad which are plainly visible to him, though they are invisible to human eyes. The howls are intended to warn human beings of their threatened danger.

2. *Beliefs in Witchcraft.*

They have an implicit belief in witchcraft, and constantly carry various charms on their persons, which they say have much virtue and which protect the bearers from misfortune and ill-luck. Though nominally Christians, these forest Indians have a longing for the ancient worship of idols, and indeed secretly practise it in the depths of the forest. Frequently each hut has a small clay (adobe) idol to which invocations are addressed when the owner is about to set out on a journey. When I left these people after some weeks residence, an old Indian gave me his idol to guard me

against the perils and dangers of the jungle. I have it still in my possession.

If a bunch of hair or hemp is found near the door of the hut where you are staying, they state that this indicates that some witch with evil intent, is pursuing you. To avoid disaster, you must at once obtain some salt (rather difficult to obtain in the forest), and cast a handful to the North, a handful to the South, another to the East and a fourth to the West, repeating a prayer "Maria Santissima . . . ," while so doing, you will then be secure from all witches and demons during the day. At night, however, you must make a cross of two thin sticks and fix them on the door of your hut. Now no evil from witch or demon may be feared.

3. *Love Charm.*

In common with other parts of the world, these Indians—especially the women—have a number of love charms which are of a varied character. I remember particularly, that small pieces of lodestone (magnetite), were constantly carried by the Indian women in their dresses as love charms. They held that the lodestone caused their husbands and lovers to be drawn to their sides, and that it retained their love,—even if they were absent for days on a journey.

4. *Unlucky Days.*

Certain days of the week, *e.g.* Tuesdays and Fridays, were held to be most unlucky days. No Indian would think of undertaking a journey or of doing any business on either of these days. It is interesting to note how universal is this superstition relating to the ill luck of Fridays. Even in England, many educated people will not set out on a journey on this ill-omened day.

ARTHUR BRENNAN, B.Sc.

CORRESPONDENCE.

I am anxious to obtain information on the following points:

i. In clearing a site in Egypt some years ago, some members of Professor Flinders Petrie's party found the ancient Egyptian sign for child-birth engraved on some Aramaic seals. The sign was interpreted as representing three fox-skins tied together. I shall be obliged for references to this interpretation.

ii. In England, at the present day, a white kid glove is tied to the door-knocker to show that a child has been born in the family. Why is a *white* kid glove used in this way?

iii. Gypsies, when they see a red fox playing in a wood, hide themselves and watch. Afterwards they go and roll on this same spot to increase their powers of fertility. Why is a red fox selected for this purpose?

iv. In Egypt, Set was the deity of darkness; but Set-nub, his golden dog or fox, was connected with sun worship. Any information on this belief regarding the dog or fox will be welcome.

E. K. M. COURT.

Belmont Lodge, Hastings.

Miss M. A. Murray kindly sends the following references on questions connected with Egypt.

i. The following are references to the fox-skins which form the *mes*-sign:

1. G. Daressy, in *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Egypte*, iv. pp. 122-3.

2. L. Borchardt, in *Zeitschrift für Aegyptische Sprache*, 1907, pp. 75-6.

3. A. Erman, in *Zeitsch. für A.S.*, 1908, p. 92.

4. Petrie. *Memphis Meydum*. pl. xxvi, 21, p. 42.

There is also a paper by Blackman in, I think, *Man*, in which he says that fox-skins are hung on the door of houses in Nubia when a child is born. He is the sole authority for this statement, which I have heard contradicted by other authorities.

iv. Set is probably of the dog-tribe. The earliest representations of the creature are of the 1st dyn., but give no clue. In the tomb of Sekerkha-bau of the 3rd dyn., he is represented lying down as a dog lies, *i.e.* with the front paws stretched out. *Set Nub* is not the correct reading, it should be *Set Nubt* or *Set Nubti*, Set of Nubt or Set the Nubtite; Nubt being the name of a town, now called Ombos. Like all the early deities of Egypt, Set was originally a god of fertility and therefore of the sun. The ass was his sacred animal.

THE COIRLIGHEILE PUZZLE (*Folk-Lore*, vi. 159, 302).

This appears to be an ingenious puzzle to amuse children. I suppose that there is some mystic sense attached to it. If so, I shall be greatly obliged for an explanation of its meaning.

H. A. FREEMAN.

41 Moscow Court, Bayswater, W.

REVIEWS.

West African Folk-Tales, collected and arranged by W. H. Barker, B.Sc., and Cecilia Sinclair. London: George G. Harrap & Co. 1917.

This collection of stories does not profess to be a scientific work. But it is founded on original material, which "it is hoped," as Mr. Barker in his interesting introduction says, to render ere long "available for the student of folk-lore." Arranged therefore for "a wider public," it affords the student a foretaste of what the genuine collection will offer.

The tales on which the work is "based" were collected on the Gold Coast, where Mr. Barker was Principal of the Government Institution at Accra. But we are not told to what tribes the narrators belonged, nor in what circumstances the tales themselves were told. This information is presumably reserved until the original material is presented. Mr. Barker contends, and no doubt with justice, that "folklore can and does render valuable assistance toward a solution" of the problem presented by the traditions relating to the origin of peoples. It must, however, be used with caution when we have to deal with matter so transmissible as folk-tales. "A conquered people," it is true, "do not give up their 'lore' with the land, but carry their customs and traditions with them to their new homes." But they learn many things on the way; and they absorb from peoples with whom they come into contact, whether as conquerors or conquered, or by way of trading intercourse, customs and traditions, especially tales told for amusement.

Mr. Barker gives a picturesque and interesting account of tale-tellers and their audience, rendered all the more vivid by a

preliminary photograph of native children gathered before the village to listen. He has some good remarks on "the effect of the contact of the slave-trading Europeans on the folklore of the Coast Negroes." In his observations on the similarity between the stories of different races in different stages of progress he refers to the story of the man who obtained a knowledge of the language of the lower animals on condition that he did not disclose the secret. He refers to one variant in Petrovitch's *Hero-Tales and Legends of the Serbians*, but does not mention the famous example in the introduction to the *Arabian Nights*.

The stories are chiefly tales of the lower animals. They are either Anansi stories, with which we are more familiar in their West Indian development among the imported slaves, or myths explaining the peculiarities of various creatures or of custom. Many of them belong to the Brer Rabbit type, that is to say, they are narratives of the deeds of a famous trickster. They are well told, and illustrated with original drawings (white on a black ground) by Miss Sinclair. We shall be glad to see the original material in scientific form. West African collections of folk-tales are none too many.

E. Sidney Hartland.

Observations on the Mussulmauns of India, Descriptive of their Manners, Customs, Habits, and Religious Opinions, made during a Twelve Years' Residence in their immediate Society. By Mrs. Meer Hassan Ali. Second Edition, Edited with Notes and an Introduction by W. Crooke, late of the Indian Civil Service. Oxford University Press, 1917. Pp. xxviii+442. Price 6s. net. or on India paper, 7s. 6d.

The long title correctly describes the contents of Mrs. Meer Hassan Ali's unique book, which deserves the honour of reissue and of illumination by Mr. Crooke's notes, which are concise, adequate, and accurate. The lady was an Englishwoman who

made the bold experiment of marrying a high-class Muhammadan, a Sayyid or reputed descendant of the Prophet, who was employed for a time as an assistant teacher at Addiscombe. She went to India with her husband and lived there with him for about twelve years, mostly spent in Lucknow, then the seat of the court of King Ghāzi-ud din Haidar, the monarch whose vagaries are described in Knighton's queer book, *The Private Life of an Eastern King*, which will be reprinted as a companion volume to the one now noticed. Mrs. Meer Hassan Ali returned to England alone in 1829, and was then attached to the household of the Princess Augusta, who died in 1840. She was a good and sympathetic observer, who took pains to be accurate, and very rarely made a mistake. Her husband and his venerated father having been members of the Shia sect, the author's account of Muhammadan practice is necessarily written from the Shia point of view. The book may be referred to with confidence as giving a readable, trustworthy account of the beliefs, habits, and mode of life of an honourable and well-educated Mussulman family of moderate means, in a city where a Muslim court resided.

Many curious customs and superstitions are faithfully recorded. Some items of moon lore may be noted.

"If any person is ill, and bleeding is the only good remedy to be pursued, the age of the moon is first discussed, and if it happens to be near the full, they are inflexibly resolute that the patient shall not lose blood until her influence is lessened. . . .

"The full moon is deemed propitious for celebrating the marriage festivals. . . .

"When a journey is contemplated the moon's age is the first consideration. . . .

"What will be said of the singular custom, 'Drinking the moon at a draught?' A silver basin being filled with water is held in such a situation that the full moon may be reflected in it; the person to be benefited by this draught is required to look steadfastly at the moon in the basin, then shut his eyes and quaff the liquid at one draught. This remedy is advised by medical professors in nervous cases, and also for palpitations of the heart. I have seen this practised, but am not aware of any real benefit derived by the patient from the prescription."

The book is full of interesting observations of many kinds, and may be heartily recommended as being both entertaining and instructive.

VINCENT A. SMITH.

Books for Review should be addressed to
THE EDITOR OF *Folk-Lore*,
c/o MESSRS. SIDGWICK & JACKSON, LTD.
ADAM ST., ADELPHI, LONDON, W.C.

During the war the supply of books for review in *Folk-Lore* has considerably decreased, and, owing to the absence of many members on service or engaged in special work at home, little material for publication in "Collectanea" is being received at present. The Editor will, therefore, feel obliged if members will kindly forward to him at his address, Langton House, Charlton Kings, Cheltenham, any articles or notes suitable for publication.

13*th September*, 1917.

Folk-Lore.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE FOLK-LORE SOCIETY.

VOL. XXVIII.] DECEMBER, 1917. [No. IV.

THE BIRD CULT OF EASTER ISLAND.

BY MRS. SCORESBY ROUTLEDGE.

(*From a paper read before the Society, 16th May, 1917.*)

PLACES AND TERMS CONNECTED WITH THE CULT.

Rano Kao. Western volcano, site of bird cult.

Mataveri. Village at foot of Rano Kao.

Orongo. Village at summit of Rano Kao.

Mata-ngarau. Carved rocks and houses, concluding part of Orongo.

Motu Nui. Islet at foot of Rano Kao, home of birds.

Rano Raraku. Eastern volcano, site of image quarries.

Orohié. South-western corner of Rano Raraku.

Kotuu (or **Otuu**). Western half of island.

Hotu-iti. Eastern half of island.

Mata-toa. Supreme clan—Victor.

Mata-kio. Subservient clans.

Ao. Clan celebrating bird rites, also an emblem.

Tangata-manu. Bird-man.

Hopu. Servant who procured the egg.

Iviatua. Man or woman supernaturally gifted.

Tangata-rongo-rongo. Man acquainted with the tablets.

Také. Retreat on Motu Nui, object unknown.

Manu mo te Poki. Bird ceremony for the child.

Tangata-tapa-manu. Officiator at the child ceremony.

Manu-tara. The sacred bird, a species of tern.

Piu. The young manu-tara.

Easter Island in the South-East Pacific, remained in its primitive state, save in so far as it was affected by the visits of passing ships, till the year 1863. At that date a large number of its most distinguished inhabitants were carried away by Peruvian slave raiders or died from a subsequent epidemic of small-pox; the following year the first Christian missionary settled on the island; he was rapidly followed by a series of European exploiters and the old order passed. The information which follows was obtained from the few surviving natives who can remember their life in its earlier condition prior to the above events. It is never easy to procure from uneducated persons a straightforward and accurate statement, even when the events in question are recent and well within their knowledge, it is even harder when some of the facts are forgotten or only vaguely remembered, so that a speaker glides almost unconsciously from what is known to what is merely conjectured; the difficulty of research was in this case further augmented through its being begun with preconceived ideas, obtained from the brief allusions of earlier writers, which subsequently proved to be erroneous. The work was necessarily a matter of time; it was not, for instance, till the Expedition had been a year on the island that the story transpired of the bird-man's residence on Rano Raraku, though once heard it was found to be well known. The whole material available has not yet been examined and some changes may be necessary; what is claimed is that the evidence was very carefully obtained and weighed and that the story as given is believed to be substantially correct; but experience in field work here and elsewhere has induced a firm conviction that accuracy in anthropological work is never more than a comparative term. The account will be given first in general terms, and deviations or exceptions subsequently noted. With regard to the evidence at our disposal, information was obtained from

some twelve different authorities, of whom four had been bird-men, three had served as "hopu," and one had acted in both capacities. We had camps at both Mataveri and Rano Raraku, we visited Orongo more than twenty times with different native escorts, and we were three times on the islet of Motu Nui. The Expedition was over sixteen months on the island.

Easter Island is renowned for its gigantic images, many of which stood on the burial places round the coast and were erected on the slopes of the mountain whence they were hewn, while large numbers still remain in the quarries in an unfinished state. The why and wherefore of these things is lost in mist of antiquity. There is, however, another and less known cult of the island which survived till living memory; it is noteworthy for its own sake, and it is doubly interesting if it can be proved to have had at least some connection with the great statues: this is the Bird Cult.

The population of Easter Island was divided into ten clans or "mata," which are frequently spoken of in two groups, those of Kotuu and those of Hotu-iti, districts which may be simply if roughly identified with the Western and Eastern portions of the island; legend tells of fierce wars between the rival parties. The clan which was in the ascendency at any given time, or the "Mata-toa," had the right to obtain the first egg of a certain migratory sea bird, but two or more clans are often found combining; the members of other clans, or the Mata-kio, might be present in the capacity of servants. The Mata-toa had a claim on the Mata-kio for boat building and food planting and "they were afraid to refuse." How this primary position was originally attained it is not very easy to say, presumably by superior strength; it might be held for one year or for several in succession and was said to be passed on at will to a favoured neighbour. The selection gave rise at times to heartburning: it is told that a man of

the Marama clan set fire to the house of the head of the Miru clan because the Miru had given the coveted distinction to the Ngaure instead of to his own people. An aggrieved clan had its remedy through war.[1] The Mata-toa when taking part in the bird ceremonies are spoken of as the "Ao," thus "Miru te Ao" signifies that the Miru were the celebrants that year; the same name is given to an actual object in the shape of a large paddle used in dancing, the handle of which was adorned with a human face. The island is triangular in shape, with its apex to the north, and the bird ceremonies were especially connected with the western angle. This portion is formed by an extinct volcano known as Rano Kao, and in October the Mata-toa, or a certain number of them, men, women and children, took up their abode in a number of houses at the foot of the mountain on the landward side. The place is called Mataveri and the removal there was known as "Kaho Mataveri ki te Ao," or "to go to Mataveri for the Ao." The houses were made after the fashion of the island, as a superstructure of sticks and reed on a boat-shaped foundation of stone, and here great cannibal feasts were held; tradition relates that so big were the houses that one of the victims escaped by hiding in an extreme end. Similar gruesome feasts took place to the accompaniment of breaking waves in a sea cave near at hand, which still bears the name of "Ana-kai-tangata," or "Cave eat man"; the roof is covered with paintings of birds in red and white pigment, one of which is superimposed on a drawing of a European ship and cannot, therefore, be earlier than the eighteenth century. For

[1] Since writing the above Dr. Corney has located the interesting accounts of the first missionaries, published in *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*. Their knowledge of the Bird cult is vague, but they were specially impressed with the tumult which resulted between different parties after the finding of the egg in the month of September. It must be remembered that their acquaintance with the island was subsequent to the disorganization caused by the Peruvian raid.

the bird celebrations, in addition to a particular dress and hat, the men carried the "ao" and the women wore the "remiro," a breast ornament only used by a woman whose husband was of the Mato-toa. The wooden images, "moai toromiro," were hung around the neck. A function connected with the young birds took place in October or November, but will be more conveniently spoken of later.

In July the Ao left Mataveri and wound their way up to the top of the mountain by a track still just traceable and known as "the road of the Ao." Rano Kao is some thirteen hundred feet in height and has a crater about a mile in width; the landward side is a grassy slope, but the three sides which are surrounded by sea have been gradually eroded till they form a steep and precipitous cliff of about one thousand feet. So far has this erosion proceeded that the sea has nearly worn its way into the crater itself, which is at the present time only separated from it by a wall of rock along which it would be feasible but not easy to walk. In this process of attrition some harder portions of rock have been left and form three little islands lying off the coast. Standing on the western extremity of the mountain with the narrow ridge immediately on the left, the crater behind and the cliff in front, these islets are seen far below, always girdled with breaking surf from the swell of the Pacific, which here extends in an unbroken sweep to the Antarctic. To-day no sound is heard save the cries of the sea birds as they circle round these their habitations.

The company of the Ao proceeded by the western side of the crater along its ever-narrowing summit till this spot on the cliff was reached, which is known as Orongo. Here houses were again awaiting them, but unlike those at Mataveri they were constructed of stone laminae, lined and roofed with slabs and covered with earth; such structures were obviously more suitable for so windy a spot than those made of reeds. The entrance, which is always toward

the sea, is by a narrow passage through the thickness of the wall, along which it is just possible to crawl. The slabs opposite the doorway, and where consequently there is a certain amount of light, are often painted; the ao appears on them, also bird designs and frequently representations of European ships. In the middle of the village is the house in which stood the image now at the British Museum, the front of which had to be broken down before the statue could be removed. The image is typical in form, but to find one under cover and in such a position is absolutely unique; its name, "Hoa-haka-nanaia," is roughly translated as "the wave turns over and breaks"; the word Taura-renga is also associated with it, sometimes being applied to the house and sometimes to the image. The village terminates as it approaches the narrowest part of the cliff amongst a number of carved rocks, between which a semicircle of small houses have been built; in some cases the houses cover the carving, which is evidently the older. These dwellings were occupied during the festival by the "tangata rongo-rongo," or the men who recited from the hieroglyphic tablets which form one of the mysteries of the island; half the houses were apportioned to the savants from Kotuu, the other half to those from Hotu-iti. "They chanted all day; they stopped an hour to eat, that was all." This group of rocks and dwellings is known as "Mata-ngarau," and was taboo during the festival to the common herd.

There are in the whole settlement forty-six houses, of which many are practically intact, while others have been ruined in the endeavour to obtain the painted slabs within. The Ao spent the time while awaiting the birds in dancing each day in front of the buildings, food being brought to them from below, where, according to one authority, a friendly clan kept watch at Mataveri. A short way down the cliff immediately below Orongo is a cave known as "Haka-ronga-manu," or "The cave of

listening for the birds"; here men kept watch day and night for news from the islet below.

The privilege of obtaining the first egg was a matter of competition between members of the Mata-toa, but the right to be one of the competitors was secured only by supernatural means. An "iviatua," a divinely-gifted individual, dreamed that a certain man was favoured by the gods, so that if he entered for the race he would be a winner, or, in technical parlance, become a bird-man or "tangata manu"; it was also ordained that he should then take a new name, which formed part of the revelation, and this bird-name was given to the year in which victory was achieved, thus forming an easily remembered system of chronology. The nomination might be taken up at once or not for many years; and if not used by the original nominee it might descend to his son or grandson; one case was mentioned where a young man who was victorious passed on the honours to an older relative. If a man did not win he might try again or "say that the iviatua was a liar" and retire from the contest. Women were never nominated, but the iviatua might be male or female and, needless to say, was rewarded with presents of food. There were four gods, or "atua," connected with the eggs—Hawa-tuu-take-take, called "chief of the eggs," and Make-make, who were male deities; also Vié Hoa, the wife of Hawa, and Vié Kenatea, who were females; each of these four had a servant whose names were given and who were also supernatural beings. Two iviatua "called themselves after Hawa and Make-make" respectively, but this seems to have been exceptional. Those going to take the eggs recited the names of the gods before meat, inviting them to partake. The actual competitors were men of importance and spent their time with the rest of the Ao at the village of Orongo; they selected servants to represent them and await the coming of the birds in less comfortable quarters in the islet below.

These men, who were known as " hopu," went to the islet when the Ao went up to Orongo or possibly rather later. Each made up his provisions into a " pora," or securely bound bundle of reeds, he then swam on the top of the packet, holding it with one arm and propelling himself with the remaining arm and both legs. An incantation, which was recited to us, was said by him before starting. In one instance, the iviatua, at the same time that he gave the nomination, prophesied that the year that it was taken up a man should be eaten by a large fish; the original recipient never availed himself of it, but on his deathbed told his son of the prophecy. The son, Kilimuti, undeterred by it, entered for the race and sent two men to the islet; one of them started to swim there with his pora but was never heard of again, and it was naturally said that the prophecy had been fulfilled. Kilimuti wasted no regret over the eventuality, obtained another servant and secured the egg; he died while the Expedition was on the island. The islet of Motu Nui is, as its name signifies, the largest, and is also the outermost of the three islets which lie off the coast of Rano Kao. It can only be reached in fine weather, and even then it is no easy matter to gain the particular ledge of rock where landing has to be made on the crest of a wave before the sea again retreats boiling and surging many feet below. Once landed, however, the surface is comparatively level and presents no difficulties. It is about five acres in extent and is covered by coarse grass which almost conceals the entrance to the cave in which the hopu lived while awaiting the coming of the birds; the inside however is light and airy; it measures ninteen feet by thirteen, with a height of over five feet, and conspicuous among other carvings in the centre of the wall is a large ao more than seven feet in length. A line dividing the islet between Kotuu and Hotu-iti passed through the centre of the cave, and the hopu are said to have formerly kept to their respective

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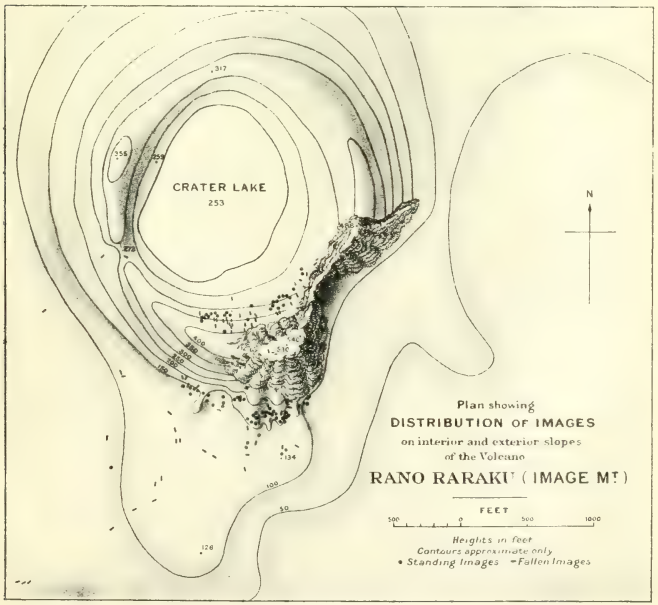

EASTER ISLAND

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(Reproduced by permission from the "Geographical Journal")

sides. As bad weather might prevent fresh consignments of food during the weeks of waiting, the men carefully dried on the rocks the skins of the bananas and potatoes which they had brought with them, to be consumed in case of necessity, and it was added with a touch appreciated by those acquainted with the Easter Island, that if the man who thus practised foresight was not careful others who had no food would steal it when he was not looking.

In addition to the "manu-tara," or sacred bird, which is a species of tern, the natives say that seven other kinds of birds, whose names they gave, inhabit Motu Nui; three of these were said to stop all the year round, two to come for the winter, and three, including the tara, for the summer. No good reason was given for the selection of the tara; its cry is its most marked peculiarity; the approach of the flight can be heard for miles and the noise during nesting is said to be deafening; in a cave on the islet there is an incised drawing of the bird with open beak from which a series of lines spreads out fanwise, obviously representing the volume of sound. Names in imitation of these sounds were given to children, such as "Piriuru," "Wero-wero," "Ka-ara-ara." It is worth noting that the coming of the tara inaugurates the deep-sea fishing season; till their arrival all fish living in twenty or thirty fathoms were considered poisonous. The birds arrived in September and on first alighting tarried only a short time; immediately on their departure the hopu rushed out to find the egg, or, according to another account, it was the rushing out of the hopu which frightened away the birds. The gods intervened in the hunt, so that the man who was not destined to win went past the egg even when it lay right in his path. The first finder rushed up to the highest point of the islet calling to his employer by name, "Shave your head, you have got the egg." The cry was taken up by the watchers in the cave on the mainland, and the fortunate victor, beside himself with joy, proceeded to

shave his head and paint it red, while the losers showed their grief unrestrainedly. The defeated hopu started at once to swim to the shore, while the winner, who was obliged to fast while the egg was in his possession, put it in a little basket, and going down to the landing rock dipped it into the sea; the significance of the word hopu is "wash." He then tied the basket round his forehead and was able to swim quickly, as the gods were with him. At this stage sometimes accidents occurred, for if the sea was rough an unlucky swimmer might be dashed on the rocks and killed; in one instance, it was said, only one man escaped with his life, owing, as he reported, to his having been warned by Maké-maké not to make the attempt. When the hopu arrived on the mainland he handed over the egg to his employer, and a tangata-rongo-rongo tied round the arm which had taken it a piece of red tapa and also of a tree, now extinct, known as "gnau-gnau," reciting meanwhile the appropriate words. The finding was announced by a fire being lit on the landward side of the summit of Rano Kao on one of two sites, according to whether the Mata-toa came from the west or east side of the island.

Reference has been made to the carved rocks which terminate the village of Orongo; they are considerably weathered and require study in varying lights to realize the forms represented. By far the most numerous of these is the figure of a man with the head of a bird; it is in a crouching attitude with the hands held up and is carved at every size and angle according to the surface of the rock. It can still be counted one hundred and eleven times and many instances must have disappeared. All knowledge of its meaning is lost; the figure may have represented one of the egg gods, but it seems more probable that each one was a memorial to a bird-man, and this presumption is strengthened by the fact that in at least three of the carvings the hand is holding an egg. The history of

another carving, a small design which is also very frequent, still survives and corroborates this by analogy; within living memory it was the custom for women of the island to come up here and be immortalized by having one of these representations cut on the rock by a professional expert. We know therefore that conventional forms were used as memorials of certain definite persons.[1]

The bird-man, having obtained the egg, took it in his hand, palm upwards, on a piece of tappa and danced with a rejoicing company down the slope of Rano Kao and along the southern coast. This procedure, which is known as "haka epa," or "make shelf," from the position of the hand with regard to the egg, was continued till the party reached Rano Raraku, the mountain especially connected with the images. This mountain is at the south-east end of the island, some ten miles distant from Rano Kao; it resembles the latter in being an extinct volcano with a crater lake, but stands back a mile from the coast and is only about 500 feet in height; its shape is that of a shallow vessel of which the base is larger than the brim.[2] On the south side of the mountain, towards the summit, are extensive workings in which lie scores of images in every stage of evolution. These quarries are both within the crater and outside, and below them, on the debris and detritus, a large number of the figures have been set up. Amongst the statues thus placed on the exterior slope, most of which are still standing, there is shown at the south-west corner the foundations of a house. This is the point which would first be approached from the southern coast, and in this house the bird-man remained

[1] This figure with that of the bird-man and the ao are all roughly carved on the back of the statue at the British Museum. They appear to be later workmanship than the raised ring and girdle to which allusion is made below. Unfortunately, the light in the portico is bad.

[2] The word "Rano" signifies a crater lake. It is, according to Turner, Malagasy for water, but is only used in Easter Island in the restricted sense.

for a year, five months of which were spent in strict taboo. The egg which was still kept on tappa was hung up inside the house and blown on the third day, a morsel of tapa being put inside. The victor did not wash and spent his time in "sleeping all day, only coming out to sit in the shade." His correct head-dress was a crown made of human hair; it was known as "hau oho," and if it was not worn the "spirits would be angry."

The house was divided into two, the other half being occupied by a man, who was called an iviatua, but was of an inferior type from the one gifted with prophecy and apparently merely a poor relation of the hero; there were two cooking places, as even he might not share that of the Bird-man. Food was brought as gifts, especially the first sugar-cane, and these offerings seem to have been the sole practical advantage of victory; those who did not contribute were apt to have their houses burnt. The Bird-man's wife came to Raraku but dwelt apart, as for the first five months she could not enter her husband's house nor he hers on pain of death. A few yards below the bird-house is an "ahu" or burial place; it consists merely of a low rough wall built into the mountain with the ground above levelled and paved; it was reserved for the burial of bird-men; corpses in Easter Island were frequently exposed, not buried, but a bird-man was an uncanny person whose ghost might do unpleasant things, he was safer hidden under stones. The name Orohié is given to the whole of this corner of the mountain with its houses, its ahu and its statues. As the Bird-man gazed lazily forth from the shade of his house there stretched away in front of him the low rocky coast marked by a white line of surf and ending in the swelling side and precipitous cliff of Rano Kao, the scene of his triumph. Above him, as he sat there, were the quarries with their unfinished work, below him were the bones of his dead predecessors, while on every hand giant images stood

for ever in stolid calm. It is difficult to escape from the question, Were the statues on the mountain those of bird-men?

The hopu also retired into private life; if he were of the Mata-toa he could come to Orohié, but he might also reside in his own house, which was in that case divided by a partition through which food was passed; it might not be eaten with his right hand as that had taken the egg. Gifts of food were supplied for three months by his late employer, but he could not eat them on pain of death; they were therefore forwarded to others. The same rule applied to any present from the hopu to the bird-man. His wife and children were also kept in seclusion and forbidden to associate with others.

The new Mata-toa had meanwhile taken up their abode at Mataveri, the egg being, it was said, handed to them for a few minutes as a sign of succession. From here a few weeks after their arrival they went formally to Motu Nui to obtain the young manu-tara, known from their cry as "piu." After the brief visit of the birds when the first egg was laid they absented themselves from the islet for a period varyingly reported as from three days to a month; on their return they laid plentifully and as soon as the nestlings were hatched the Mata-toa carried them to the mainland, swimming with them in baskets bound round the forehead after the manner of the first egg. They were then taken in procession round the island, or, according to another account, as far as Orohié. It was not until the "piu" had been obtained that it was permissible to eat the egg, the period of commencement being known as "Toro," and they were then consumed by the Mata-kio only, not by the Mata-toa; the first two or three eggs, it was explained, were given to god, to eat them would prove fatal. Some of the young manu-tara were kept in confinement till they were full grown, when a piece of red tapa was tied round the wing and leg and they were

told "Kaho ki te hiva," "Go to the world outside"; there was no objection to eating the young birds. The tara departed from Motu Nui about March, but a few stragglers remained; we saw one bird and obtained eggs at the beginning of July, but the natives failed to get any for us in August. When in the following spring the new Bird-man had achieved his egg, he brought it to Orohié and was given the old one which he buried in a gourd in a cranny of Rano Raraku; he then took the place of his predecessor, who returned to his ordinary life.

While the foregoing may be described as the accepted procedure in connection with the finding of the first egg, it must not, as will readily be understood, be regarded as absolutely fixed and unvarying—the ceremonial of even an English Coronation is subject to alteration. Also before the end the cult admittedly degenerated and residence at Orongo was abandoned. Some years the race was a "walk over" for one man, the remaining competitors having been squared; on other occasions the finders of further eggs in the hunt beside the absolute first one were allowed to count as bird-men.[1] In this last case the year was said, in answer to a question, to be known by the name of the name of the first finder, all the eggs being finally disposed of in one gourd. It was very definitely volunteered that this plurality was a late development, that originally there was only one bird-man each year. When there were thus several winners one hopu used sometimes to act for more than one employer; a single employer also might have more than one hopu. The fourth year before the final end seems to have been very much "go as you please," for four clans took part and there were ten winners; two hopu had two employers each, and three bird-men took their own eggs, one also acting for another man. With regard to the disposal of the egg one old man said that it was not

[1] This accounts for the large number of bird-men still surviving, see above.

always hidden in a hole; it might be thrown into the sea or kept and buried with the bird-man. The place of residence for the taboo period was also subject to variation. Orohié was mentioned with pre-eminence, but there were other bird-houses on the Raraku slope and one on the adjoining ahu of Tongariki, some used more particularly when there was more than one bird-man; it transpired also that it was permissible for a man to remain in his own place though he could not stay in his own dwelling; in most of the larger settlements, which would be those with important image ahus, there was a house specially appointed for the residence of the local bird-man should he so elect, but this may have been a later development. The bird-men of the Western clans had a special Mecca in Anakena on the north coast, where the annual inspection of the tablets took place, and an adjoining spot; they went there in all the cases which could be quoted, with the exception of two or three who took up their abode at Raraku, but it was said by three authorities that these places were only resorted to when there was war between the clans and the western men dared not venture into the eastern territory of Orohié. It is a tempting surmise that the quarries and statues inside the Raraku crater, which is entered by a road from the west, may have been associated originally with the Western clans, and those outside the mountain with the Eastern. If so it is not improbable that, owing to internicine war, the work in the crater was suspended first, which would account for the much smaller number of completed statues found inside the crater.[1]

The last year which the Ao went to Orongo, which is known as "Rokunga," appears to have been 1866 or 1867. The names of twelve subsequent years are given during

[1] Thirty statues have been erected inside the crater against some fifty-five outside, exclusive of those around the base, which appear to have formed the approach.

which the competition for the egg continued and it was still taken to be interred at Raraku. The cult thus survived in a mutilated form the conversion of the island to Christianity, which was completed in 1868, and even the assembly of the remains of the clans into one place which took place about the same time; but it was finally crushed by the secular exploiters of the island, whose house is built at Mataveri with the foundation stones of the cannibal habitations. The request to be given the names of as many bird years as could be remembered met with an almost embarrassing response, eighty-six being quoted straight away; some of these may be the official names of bird-men and not represent a year, but they probably do so in most cases. Chronological sequence was achieved with fair certainty for eleven years prior to Rokunga, and in each case, in addition to the bird-name, the winner's own name was obtained as well as his clan and his family or sub-division; the hopu's name was also ascertained and his clan and subdivision. This list, though it doubtless is not complete, stood reasonably well the test of re-examination and extraneous evidence. Further back, though there is every reason to suppose that the year names given are authentic, the clans and other data supplied were not so reliable. The names of the iviatua who prophesied the event have not survived in the same manner.[1]

Legend relates that the manu-tara were not originally on Motu Nui. They lived, it is said, at one time, on a rock off the east end of the island, but every one came and ate them, so Hawa and Maké-maké sent them to a place on the mainland on the south coast, but still every one ate them; then they went up to the top of Rano Kao on the opposite side of the crater from Orongo and here was held the first festival; finally the birds went to Motu Nui.

[1] This folk-memory for bird chronicles is in curious contrast with the impossibility experienced in obtaining any satisfactory list of the "ariki" or chiefs, though they are said to have been only thirty in number.

In addition to the finding of the first egg two other cermonies were mentioned in connection with Orongo and Motu Nui: they were known as "Manu" and "Také" and frequently spoken of together, but to obtain detailed information was a matter of great difficulty. On the subject of Také I have notes of twenty conversations with nine different persons, none of which was really satisfactory; it finally transpired that no first-hand knowledge existed as the rites had been abandoned thirty years before the coming of the missionaries and not as the result of their teaching. All that can be safely said is that those concerned went into retreat on Motu Nui, living, it was stated, in the cave where the hopu awaited the birds; the period was generally given as three months. A vigorous discussion took place on the subject between the oldest man and woman on the island seated on a log in the garden of the old lady; she was positive, in agreement with other authorities, that také was for children, "the boys and girls went in a canoe to the island"; he firmly adhered to the statement that his father went for také after he, the son, was born. The only remaining native who knew anything of the art of hieroglyphic writing stated that také formed the subject of one of the tablets and drew one of its figures, which bears no resemblance to any other known symbol.

Information since acquired of practices elsewhere in the Pacific has suggested the possibility that the retreat was in connection with tattooing and not directly with the bird cult. In some confirmation of this tattooing is stated to have been practised at Mata-Gnarau, the carved rocks of Orongo, and a folk-tale speaks of the earliest exponents of the art as living in a specified cave, not that of the hopu, on Motu Nui. The practice was admittedly on the down grade even before the cataclysm of the sixties.

The details of Manu were more satisfactory. It was known as "Te manu mo te poki," or "the bird for the child," and the child so initiated became a "poki manu,"

or "bird child." No specific benefit was alleged to result from it, but a child whose parents had not performed the ceremony, and whose love affairs for instance went wrong, might even kill his father in revenge for the omission. An expert, known as "tangata tapa manu," the man who, as Dr. Marett would tell us, "knew the right things to say," was called in and given a hen's egg; on this last point much stress was laid; he was at the same time told the child's name, which was subsequently inserted in the ritual. The child was shaved and adorned with white bands and hung round with coco-nuts, or, as these were not readily obtainable in Easter Island, with pieces of wood carved to represent them called "tahonga." A number of children each with an expert then went up to Orongo, as the correct month was December, the Ao were not yet there. An old man, Jotefa, on whose final account I principally rely, stated that he and nine other children with their parents and ten tangata-tapa-manu, and bringing ten chickens, went to Orongo from his home on the north coast, a distance of some eleven miles. The party danced in front of all the houses, went to the carved rocks at the end, and coming back stood in a semicircle in front of the door of Taura-renga, the house of the statue, the experts being behind and all singing; no offering was made to the image; according to another account the parents and children went on the roof of the house, the experts being below, and the parents gave chickens to the men. Jotefa's party returned to their home, had a feast, and gave more food to the professionals. The tangata-tapa-manu subsequently repeated the ritual at any "koros" (a special kind of festival), which were being held in the island, and the object apparently being to make public the child's initiation. If it was not possible to go to Orongo the ceremony could take place at any of the big ahu with images. An old woman who came from near Raraku said with much pride that she was a "poki manu," she

and her three younger sisters had been taken at the same time to the ahu of Orohié; both parents went and the mother took two chickens, one in each hand, and the mother and children stood upright and the maori sang; they did not go to Orongo because there was war. A drawing was made for us of the poki manu in ceremonial attire, from which it appears that concentric circles of white pigment were made on the child's back and also one on each buttock. A circle in the same position is seen on the back of both the stone and wooden images, and in the case of one stone statue, which had been buried in the sand, was also found on the buttocks.

We have at present, therefore, the following evidence connecting the Bird Cult with the images: the bird-man spent his official year on the mountain where they were quarried, the bird initiation for children was performed in connection with statues and the ring design on the back of the images was reproduced for the ceremony on the back of the children. The old people recognized the rings and girdle of the images as a tattoo design of their youth, and it was volunteered that it was especially affected by tangata-tapa-manu. Above all, we have the fact that in a place of honour in the village of Orongo, which was solely devoted to the Bird Cult, is a typical image. It appears then evident that the people who originally celebrated the Bird Cult included in it reverence for the statues. The ancestors of the present inhabitants were, therefore, either the makers of the monoliths of Easter Island, or, if the bird worshippers represent a more recent immigration, the old religion of the images blended into and survived with the newer culture.

KATHERINE ROUTLEDGE.

For maps and illustrations of Easter Island, see *Geographical Journal*, May, 1917.

SOME ETHNOLOGICAL SUGGESTIONS IN REGARD TO EASTER ISLAND, OR RAPANUI.

BY HENRY BALFOUR.

I HAVE been invited to contribute as a supplement to Mrs. Routledge's most interesting paper on Easter Island the gist of certain suggestions which I have recently made concerning the ethnology of the island. I have great pleasures in so doing, although my ideas have as yet had but little chance of maturing and are still in a somewhat embryonic state. My spare time has been given up to war-work abroad, and I have in consequence been unable to refer to much of the material contained in museums and in the literature. The following notes I offer as a tentative sketch only, with the idea of suggesting what may prove a fruitful line of enquiry. The solution of the ethnological problem of Easter Island culture has always presented the greatest difficulty, and it still remains one of the most baffling of puzzles. One is glad that the case has been re-opened for discussion by the enterprising and remarkable expedition which was undertaken by Mr. and Mrs. Routledge and has been so happily brought to a successful conclusion.

There are certain prominent features in the culture of the Easter Islanders with which especially I wish to deal, in the hopes that I may be able to suggest certain lines of enquiry which may prove of value to those who propose to pursue researches in this subject, and who aim at diagnosing the complex cultural elements which are so striking a feature of this remote volcanic island. These are (1) the

mataa, or implements of obsidian, (2) the carved wooden figures representing the human form, (3) the huge monolithic statues, (4) certain rock-sculptures in relief, engravings and paintings representing birds and bird-headed human figures, (5) the very remarkable ideographic script, (6) the elaborate bird-cult. These I will deal with briefly *seriatim*.

I. *The mataa, or obsidian implements, which have been found in great abundance over the island.* These are for the most part roughly made from flakes (often very large and thick) struck from the blocks of volcanic glass. In the more characteristic examples, the butts are more or less carefully trimmed down by flaking so as to form peduncles or tangs for hafting on the ends of wooden handles. The broad blade is usually left unaltered, and as the shape depends upon that assumed by the flake when struck off the block, many of the implements are very irregular and unsymmetrical in outline. Some examples show a slight trimming of the edges to improve the form of the blade, but these are exceptional. The more typical and perfect specimens in their outline resemble the "ace of spades" (Fig. 1).

Now this implement is not only characteristic of but almost peculiar to Easter Island, and parallels to it are by no means easy to find. An interesting analogy is seen in a fine obsidian blade with hafting tang which was found below the surface of the ground in a creek draining into the Yodda Valley in the Northern Division of British New Guinea. It is in the possession of Mr. D. Ballantine. This specimen has been described and figured by Dr. C. G. Seligmann,[1] who draws attention to the striking resemblance to the *mataa* of Easter Island. It is, however, of better workmanship than the latter, the tanged butt is more carefully flaked to the desired form; also the shoulders are steeply and symmetrically sloped in a manner which is

[1] *Man*, Nov. 1915, No. 91, pl. M.; also in *Anthrop. Essays presented to E. B. Tylor*, 1907, pl. viii. fig. 2, and p. 327.

not characteristic of the *mataa*. Obsidian implements, other than flakes, are extremely rare in British New Guinea and very few specimens have been procured. It is of interest to note that the above mentioned example comes from a part of New Guinea which is within the area influenced by Melanesian culture.

Among the stone implements of the Chatham Islands are recorded a number of pedunculated blades of flint, chert and schist, to which Giglioli [1] gives the native name *mata* (a name also given to them by von Haast) and which he says resemble exactly the *mataa* of Easter Island, although they are not of obsidian. I have not had access to these Chatham Islands examples, nor have I seen many illustrations of them, so that I cannot tell how far the resemblance holds good. The culture of the Moriori, in the main linked with that of the Maori, suggests traces of a Melanesian element, just as in the culture of the Maori of New Zealand evidence of early Melanesian influence is noticeable, and is supported by the native traditions of an early, pre-Maori, population—a tall, slim, dark-skinned, flat-faced, flat-nosed and furtive and treacherous people, with projecting eye-brows and with hair which was often bushy or frizzly, who were known to the Maori as Maruiwi.[2] These may have been responsible, in part at any rate, for the several Melanesian characteristics observable in Maori art, industries and customs. Many of the Maruiwi eventually found their way to the Chatham Islands, to escape from their Maori oppressors, who nearly exterminated them. It is at least possible that the *mata* of the Chatham Islands may be of Melanesian origin, but this cannot be proved at present with any degree of certainty. I make the suggestion for the sake of its possible bearing upon the Easter Island problem in general.

[1] *Materiali*, 1901, p. 38, and *La Collezione Etnografica*, 1911, pt. i. p. 105.

[2] Elsdon Best, *Trans. New Zealand Inst.* xlviii. 1916, p. 435, etc.

The only other part of the world which, as far as I can recollect at the moment, offers parallels to the Easter Island *mataa*, is Japan, where tanged or pedunculated blades of stone, frequently of obsidian, occur which certainly recall to some extent the form and technique of the *mataa*. The parallel is not a very close one, however, and the resemblance may, perhaps, be fortuitous.

II. *The carved figures of toromiro wood representing the human form.* These are too well known to need detailed description. Numerous examples have been brought from Easter Island and may be seen in museums, and many have been figured and described. These in their most typical form exhibit a type of conventionalized rendering of the human form which is peculiar to Rapanui and finds no near parallel elsewhere. The nose is often very strongly aquiline, even to a highly exaggerated degree. The brows are exceedingly prominent and overhanging. The staring eyes are of obsidian set in bone. The ears are distended, the lobes being greatly elongated, indicating the custom of wearing large plugs or rings as ornaments. Many of the figures have a very pronounced "goatee" beard, though no other facial hair is indicated. Many also are represented as greatly emaciated, the ribs and vertebral column being strongly indicated, the abdomen deeply sunken, and the orbits of the eyes hollow and with prominent lower margins. It is clear that the actual native type is not here represented and that a conventional rendering has been arrived at, just as in the Marquisas group, Hawaiian Islands and many other Pacific groups one finds local schools of art producing their own fanciful anthropomorphic types. The markedly aquiline nose reminds one of a Papuan type in New Guinea, rather than of a Polynesian or Melanesian type; but since the nasal convexity appears, as far as I can see without further reference, to be especially exaggerated in the *emaciated* figures, it is just possible that it may originally have been

suggested by the retrocession of the cartilaginous extremity of the nose, due to shrinkage of the tissues either *post mortem* or as a result of hunger-emaciation. If this be so, this feature would be pathological rather than normal and to be accounted for on other than ethnological lines. These emaciated figures call to mind certain rude carvings in wood or pumice-stone from the Chatham Islands, in which the ribs and backbone are very strongly indicated.[1] The same peculiarity appears in some of the tree carvings in the same islands, representing skeleton-like figures cut in the bark of the *kopi* or *karaka* tree, as described by Dr. A. Denby,[2] who supports the theory of an early Melanesian occupation of the Chatham Islands.

The prominent brow-ridges seem to suggest a Melanesian or a Papuan type, while the elongated ear-lobes are decidedly Melanesian, the practice of distending the lobes with large disks or rings being, in the Pacific, specially associated with the Melanesian area and but rarely seen in Polynesia. In the Marquisas group, it is true, this practice obtains as a prominent feature, but here too it is linked with other unmistakably Melanesian culture-elements. In the picture of a typical Easter Islander published in *De Reis van Mr. Jacob Roggeveen* (Mulert edition, 1911), the man appears wearing a "goatee" beard without other facial hair, and it is possible that a native fashion may be indicated in the beards of the wooden figures. But the beard in this photograph is far less crisply defined than are the "imperials" of the carvings, and it may be that this feature may have been suggested by some of the early European voyagers, who were looked upon as gods and may have been perpetuated as such in sculpture. That portraiture was to some extent practised in connection with these wooden figures is borne out by a small example

[1] Cf. Partington's *Album of the Pacific*, iii. pl. 223, fig. 1. Also a specimen in the Pitt Rivers Museum at Oxford.

[2] *T.N.Z. Inst.* 1901, xxxiv. p. 130, and pl. v.

given by George Griffiths in 1859 to the Ashmolean Museum, and now in the Pitt Rivers Museum. This was stated to be a portrait of Captain Cook. This example, as one would expect, has no beard and the ears are represented of the normal shape, in contrast with the greatly distended ears which usually prevail in these figures. It is always possible that this latter Melanesian attribute may have been grafted upon features suggested by a different people. There were "long-eared" people still living upon Easter Island at the time of its discovery by Roggeveen in 1722, and also when Captain Cook visited the island in 1774, though whether these were the remnant of a Melanesian stock or Polynesians who had adopted from Melanesians the practice of distending the ear-lobe, is not clear. The native traditional history leads us to suppose that when the "short-eared" Polynesians arrived, they found the island already inhabited by a "long-eared" people (presumably of Melanesian origin), who were almost or quite exterminated by the new-comers.

Another noteworthy feature of the wooden statuettes of Easter Island is the mouth. In most of the sculptures the lips are straight and thin; in others, especially the emaciated ones, the mouth is almost dumb-bell shaped, recalling a type very prevalent in the conventional carvings of the Hawaiian Islands and New Zealand.

III. *The monolithic statues.* Perhaps the most striking feature in Easter Island culture is the very numerous huge monolithic effigies, hewn from the solid volcanic rock in the crater of Rano Roraku and erected often upon stone platforms or terraces, *ahu*, in various parts of the island. These have received special attention from Mr. and Mrs. Routledge, and will no doubt be fully described by them. Suffice it for me to draw attention to certain special points in regard to them, which have a bearing upon the suggestion which I wish to offer. In facial form they differ from any normal native type either Polynesian or Melanesian, nor

DESCRIPTION OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

FIG. 1. *Mataa*, obsidian blade of typical specialized form, with tang, Easter Island. Pitt Rivers Museum. Length, 11.3 *cm.*

FIG. 2. Monolithic statue. Easter Island. The dotted line at *A* indicates the height reached by the top of the head of a man on horseback, standing beside the statue in the original photograph published in the *Illustrated London News*, 25th March, 1911.

FIG. 3. Head of one of the monolithic statues, showing the perforated and distended ear-lobe. Easter Island. From photograph taken by Mr. Routledge.

FIG. 3*a*. Ear of one of the monolithic statues, showing perforation and exaggerated distension of the lobe. Easter Island. From photograph taken by Mr. Routledge.

FIG. 4. "Canoe-prow god," of wood inlaid with pearl-shell. Solomon Islands. Pitt Rivers Museum. Height, 18 *cm.*

FIG. 5. "Canoe-prow god," of wood with eyes of pearl-shell. Solomon Islands. H. A. Tufnell collection; Pitt Rivers Museum. Height, 19.6 *cm.*

FIG. 6. One end of carved wooden bowl representing a Frigate-bird. Solomon Islands. H. A. Tufnell collection; Pitt Rivers Museum.

FIG. 7. Design of Frigate-bird with human arm and hand, in low relief, black on a light ground, on blade of a paddle. Solomon Islands. Pitt Rivers Museum. Width of design, 16.5 *cm.*

FIG. 8. Canoe-ornament of wood in form of a bird with a human head. Mungeri district, New Georgia, Solomon Islands. B. T. Somerville collection; Pitt Rivers Museum. Length, 15.2 *cm.*

FIG. 9. Fishing-net float of wood in form of *Kesoko*, with human body and Frigate-bird's head. Same data as the last. Height, 18 *cm.*

FIG. 10. Canoe-charm of wood in form of a Frigate-bird. Rubiana Island, Solomon Islands. British Museum.

FIG. 11. Ditto, with human head on the bird's body. Same data as the last.

FIG. 12. Wooden fishing-net float, carved with human head on bird's body. Mungeri district, New Georgia, Solomon Islands. B. T. Somerville collection; Pitt Rivers Museum. Length, 20.5 *cm.*

FIG. 13. Ditto, showing the head more conventionalized. Same data as the last. Length, 17.2 *cm.*

FIG. 14. Wooden cup with pedestal in human form. Solomon Islands. Pitt Rivers Museum. Height, 30 *cm.*

FIG. 15. Two figures of Terns (?) roughly engraved upon a small boulder. Easter Island. Height, about 10 *cm.*

FIG. 16. Bird-headed human figure, sculptured in relief on a rock at Orongo, Easter Island. From a photograph by Mr. Routledge.

FIG. 17. Similar figure carrying the sacred egg of the *Manu tara*, sculptured in relief on rock at Orongo, Easter Island. From specimen collected by Mr. Routledge. British Museum. Length of figure, 36.5 *cm.*

FIG. 18. Painting in red and black upon stone slab, representing seated human figure with Frigate-bird's head. Orongo, Easter Island. Height of original about 63 *cm.*

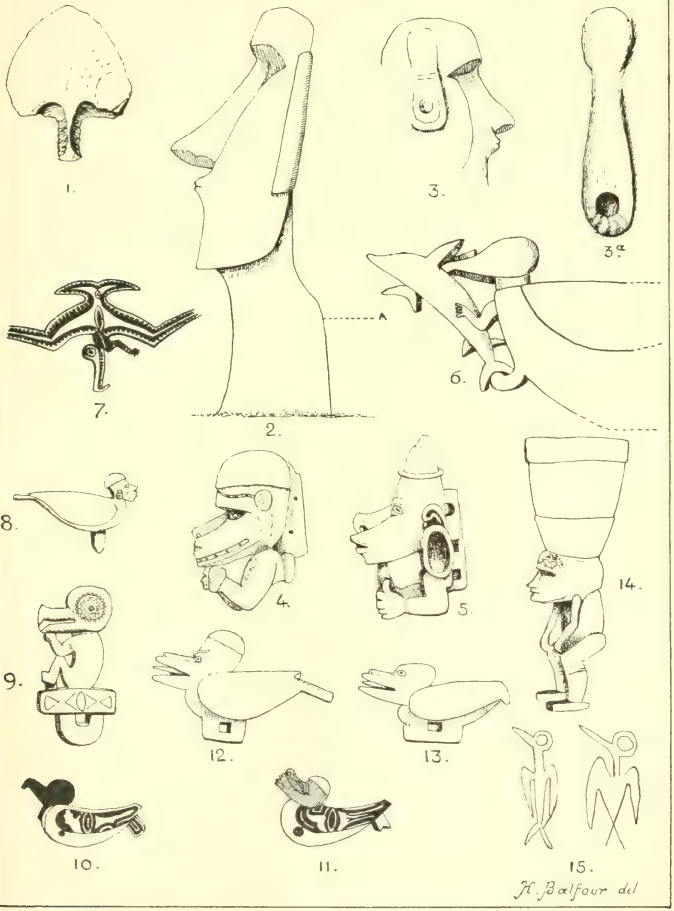
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FIG. 19. Ideograph of Frigate-bird in attitude of flight. Easter Island script tablet.

FIG. 19*a*. Figure of flying Frigate-bird cut upon a bamboo fishing-scoop. New Georgia (N. coast), Solomon Islands. B. T. Somerville collection ; Pitt Rivers Museum. Width of figure, 6.5 *cm.*

FIG. 20. Ideograph of bird in profile. Easter Island script.

FIG. 20*a*. Design of Frigate-bird in flight, profile view. Same data as Fig. 19*a*. Length of figure, 5.8 *cm.*

FIG. 21. Ideograph representing double-headed Frigate-bird. Easter Island script.

FIG. 21*a*. Ornamental pendant of pearl-shell, representing a double-headed Frigate-bird. Engraved on the surface is a design of the Frigate-bird, resembling Fig. 19*a*. Vaholi, New Georgia, Solomon Islands. B. T. Somerville collection ; Pitt Rivers Museum. Width, 11.2 *cm.*

FIG. 22. Ideograph of Frigate-bird, with one normal wing and the other transformed into a human arm holding up a fish. Easter Island script.

FIG. 22*a*. Similar design of semi-human Frigate-bird, with one normal wing and one human arm and hand holding a fish. Cut upon a dancing paddle. Solomon Islands. Pitt Rivers Museum. Height of design, 7.4 *cm.*

FIG. 23. Ideograph of prognathous human figure, seated with hand raised. Easter Island script.

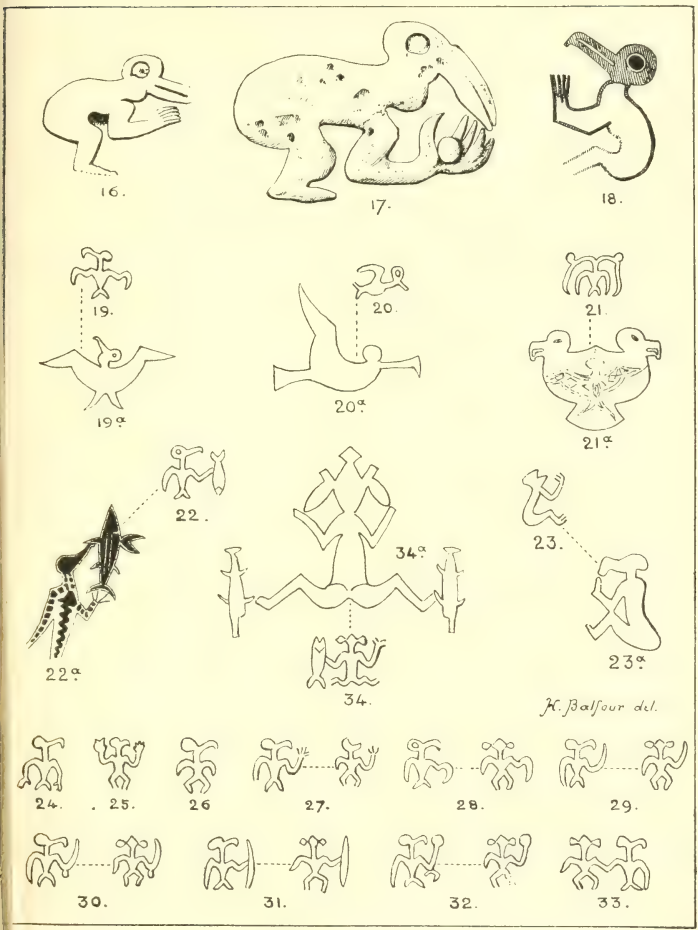
FIG. 23*a*. Figure of *Kesoko*, in similar attitude and with head of Frigate-bird (compare Fig. 9). Solomon Islands. Same data as Fig. 19*a*. Height of design, 2.5 *cm.*

FIGS. 24 to 33. Ideographs representing bird-human figures in which the attributes of the Frigate-bird are variously combined with the human attributes. Easter Island script.

- FIG. 24. Bird with human arms and hands.
- FIG. 25. Human form with bird's head.
- FIG. 26. Head and wings of the bird combined with human legs.
- FIG. 27. Bird with one human arm, and human figure with one wing.
- FIG. 28. Bird with wings of different form, and human figure with identical unsymmetrical wings.
- FIG. 29. Bird with one wing turned upwards, and human figure with identical wings.
- FIG. 30. Designs similar to the last but with peculiar appendages on the up-turned wing.
- FIG. 31. Bird and human figures, each with one wing and one arm holding a staff-like object.
- FIG. 32. Bird and human figures, each with one wing and one arm holding up a circular object.
- FIG. 33. Bird and human figures, hand in hand ; each with one wing and one arm.

FIG. 34. Ideograph of human figure, seated with legs widely spread, holding a fish.

FIG. 34*a*. Similar design of human form in the same attitude, and with fish on either side. Solomon Islands. Same data as Fig. 19*a*. The representation of the greatly distended ear-lobes explains the lateral appendages appearing on the heads of so many human figures in the Easter Island script.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do they bear resemblance to Polynesian representation of the human form whether realistic or conventional (Figs. 2 and 3). In order to find possible affinities, we must, I think, seek them outside the Polynesian area. Certain well-marked and prevalent peculiarities may be noted as characteristic of these remarkable statues (Figs. 2 and 3): (1) the prominent, overhanging brow; (2) the absence of any indication of the eyes, which are sufficiently suggested by the hard, dark shadows cast by the overhanging brow-ridges; (3) the very long, concave nose (differing markedly from the arched noses of the wooden figures); (4) the protruding or "pouting" lips; (5) the prominent, pointed chin; (6) the greatly distended ear-lobes (Fig. 3*a*); and, lastly, (7) the cylindrical so-called "hats" or "crowns" of red volcanic tufa, which originally surmounted the heads of many of the statues.

Now, there is only one region in the Pacific in which I have been able to find representations of human form in which the above-mentioned characteristics appear associated together in such a manner as to suggest an affinity with the Easter Island statues, and this is the Solomon Island group in the Melanesian area.

Some years ago I made a study of the so-called "canoe-prow gods" and other representations of human form from New Georgia, San Cristoval and other parts of the Solomon Islands [1] (Figs. 4 and 5). My then object was to account, if possible, for the very excessive prognathism which is so pronounced a conventional feature of these figures. The slight prognathic tendency of the native type is not sufficient to explain this grotesque exaggeration. I discovered an apparent solution in the influence of another totally distinct design, that of the Frigate-bird, the explanation being that the conventional result was arrived at by hybridization of two designs. The human form and the frigate-bird are very constantly associated together in close

[1] *Man*, June, 1905, No. 50, and pl. F.

juxtaposition in the art of the Solomon Islands, and are moreover closely related by the fact that the frigate-bird, *Daula*, is the central figure of a wide-spread Melanesian bird-cult. It is a kind of super-bird possessed of a *tindalo*, or spirit, endowing it with human or superhuman powers. In representations of the frigate-bird we frequently see human attributes grafted upon the bird figure. For instance, in the carved wooden Solomon Island bowl (Fig. 6) representing a frigate-bird holding a large fish, a pair of human arms and hands are seen issuing from the bird's breast just below the neck and grasping the body of the fish.

Similarly, in a figure of the same bird with outstretched wings, represented upon the blade of a canoe-paddle (Fig. 7), an unmistakably human arm is shown arising from a kind of shoulder, in defiance of anatomical difficulties. Even bracelets are indicated upon this arm.

Again, composite forms in which the bird- and human-form are variously combined are seen in numerous instances of figures having the body of a bird combined with human head (Fig. 8), or, conversely, human body with bird's head (Fig. 9). This particular figure is said to represent *Kesoko*, half man half frigate-bird; the hooked beak of this bird is well indicated. In the British Museum there are two carved canoe-charms from Rubiana which are almost identical, except for the fact that whereas in the one (Fig. 10) the bird's body is surmounted by a frigate-bird's head with the gular pouch indicated; in the other (Fig. 11) the bird's head is replaced by a semi-human head, of the type familiar in the "canoe-prow gods," showing greatly exaggerated prognathism. This beak-like protrusion of the lower facial region seems clearly to have been suggested by the form of the bird's beak which it replaces.

Two other examples of human-headed birds, in the Pitt Rivers Museum, emphasize this hybridization of bird-

and human-form. In the one (Fig. 12) the head is still clearly recognizable as human, in spite of its very prolonged beak-like snout. In the other (Fig. 13) it is only saved from being non-human by the presence of a well-defined nose lying along the ridge of the "beak."

Without multiplying instances, I think it is fair to recognize as evident that the excessive prognathism which characterizes so many of the representations of human form in Solomon Island art, is due to fusion of bird and human *motifs*, and that the composite conventional result is intimately associated with and, indeed, a product of a cult of the frigate-bird. The cult itself, no doubt, is concerned with the problem either of securing safety at sea, or of promoting good luck in fishing, or, more probably, both.

In the paper above referred to, I carried the point further, and showed that the conventional highly prognathous type so arrived at has tended to dominate the would-be *realistic* art in the Solomon Islands. In very many of the carvings and drawings of the human head which are intended to be realistic, we can recognize to a greater or lesser extent the "canoe-prow god" type, and it would appear that the Solomon Island artists have been obsessed by this traditional modified type and that their would-be realistic renderings of the human form are largely dominated by it. One of the instances which I figured in support of this view is an actual portrait-study of one native of New Georgia by another.

To return to Easter Island. In this conventionalized rendering of the human form in the Solomon Islands, we find all the characteristics above enumerated in describing the monolithic statues of Rapanui. They are not *all* necessarily associated together in any one specimen, but they are all sufficiently frequently present in the Solomon Island figures to suggest the probability of the resemblance observable in the art-products of these two widely separated

regions being other than merely fortuitous. The heavy, overhanging brow, the long, upward-curving nose, the protruding lips and prominent chin of the Rapanui statues all find a parallel in the figures from the Solomon Islands. The distended ear-lobe is usually very marked in the more strictly human figures from the latter group. It is true that the eyes are *nearly* always indicated in the Solomon Islands (usually by inset pieces of pearl-shell), but occasionally they are omitted and are merely suggested by the shadows cast by the overhanging brow, as, for instance, in the specimen shown in Fig. 14, which in this respect adds another point of similarity to the Easter Island statues, which are eyeless.

Lastly, in connection with these statues, I have a suggestion to make in regard to the so-called "hats," or "crowns." These, as I have already mentioned, are huge cylinders of red volcanic ash or tufa, which were placed on the tops of the heads of some of the effigies. Now, if these merely represented hats or other head-gear, it is difficult to see why the natives did not carve them out of the rock in one piece with the statues. That would have been an easy and obvious method of arriving at an adequate result where only a hat was intended. Why, then, did they take the trouble to go nearly across the island to another crater in the Teraai Hills (some 7 miles or so from Rano Roraku, where the statues themselves were hewn out), in order to employ as material for the "hats" a special kind of very *rough* rock, a vesicular *red* tufa? I wish to urge as a tentative and heterodox suggestion, that the reason was that these red cylinders were not intended to represent hats at all, but *hair*. The selection of a particularly rough, vesicular rock for such a purpose would be natural enough; but I may be asked, why should a *red* material be specially used, when the normal native hair-colour would be black or very dark.

To find an explanation of this, we may again turn to the

Solomon Islands. In this group (though not exclusively, as the fashion is followed elsewhere, *e.g.* in Samoa) it is locally a common practice to bleach the hair by using lime, with the result that the normally dark hair acquires a light-brown, reddish or yellowish colour. In the northern islands of the group the hair is sometimes coated with red ochreous earth. Throughout the group much attention is given to hair-dressing, which forms an important occupation of daily life. Most of the carved wooden human figures from the Solomon Islands, to which I have referred, have the hair indicated of a *light* colour, sometimes by leaving the light wood unstained, sometimes by colouring the top of the head red. In the more realistic examples the hair is represented by a number of minute vegetable burrs, crowded closely together over the head, so as to give the desired effect of a rough surface, and stained a red colour. In others, again, a light brown or yellowish tow is used.

My suggestion, then, is that the cylindrical accessories which were placed upon the heads of the Rapanui statues were intended to represent the hair mass, that the natives specially selected a rough, vesicular tufaceous rock as material, in order to give the effect of hair which was not straight or but slightly waving, like the hair of Polynesians, but rather curly or frizzly, like the prevailing Melanesian hair-type. Further, that a *red* tufa was selected in order to conform with the practice, common enough in Melanesia, of bleaching the hair to a reddish colour with lime, or of coating it with red ochre. It still remains to account for the *cylindrical* shape given to these tufaceous masses. Why, if they represent hair, were they not hemispherical like the hair mass as usually represented in the wooden carvings, as is seen, for instance, in the Solomon Island figures? This shape was, I think, mainly imposed by necessity. The red tufa "crowns" were made on one spot in the island, and had to be transported often many miles to the places where were erected the statues which they

were destined to embellish. They could not be carried, since some of them measured as much as 10 or 12 feet in diameter, and their weight ran into tons. They could only be moved by *rolling*, and for this the cylindrical form was obviously most effective, in fact imperative. On arrival at the site of the statue the "crown" appears to have been completed by slightly hollowing the base to fit the top of the head, and by cutting a boss or knob on the upper end. This boss may, possibly, represent a compromise between the *desired* rounded upper surface of the block representing hair, and the *imposed* cylindrical form, which had to be retained until the "crown" was actually in its place on the head of the statue, since, in order to get it there, it was necessary to erect in each case a long, inclined causeway up which the "crown" could be *rolled* to the requisite height.

The fact that these "crowns" were not exactly centred upon the top of the head, but were arranged to project more in front than at the back, may be due to a desire to combine with the representation of the hair mass, the effect of the forward-projecting palm-leaf eye-shade, which is so very commonly worn in Melanesia to protect the eyes from the sun's glare. These consist of broad flaps projecting over the forehead only and kept in position by a narrow band passing round the head.

An interesting point to note in connection with the probable affinity which is suggested by a comparison of the Easter Island statues with the Solomon Islands carvings, is that just as the latter are intimately connected with a sea-bird cult (frigate-bird), so too are the former also connected with elaborate ceremonial observances associated with sea-birds, to which reference must now be made.

IV. *The Bird-cult and certain rock-sculptures, paintings and engravings in Easter Island.* The ornithology of the bird-cult in Easter Island is somewhat confused by the fact that whereas, in later times at any rate, the bird,

Manu tara, which dominated the cult was a tern (the Sooty tern, *sterna fuliginosa*, known to sailors as the "Wide-awake," or "Egg-bird") and not a frigate-bird, there is, none the less, abundant evidence that the remains or reminiscence of a cult having the frigate-bird as central figure, existed, or, should I say, persisted in Easter Island, as I hope to prove.

The Terns and the Frigate-birds are, of course, very distinct one from the other. The former are classed with the Gaviae, the latter with the Steganopodes. Both, it is true, are web-footed sea-birds, and both possess forked tails; but a point of difference which I must especially emphasize now, lies in the form of the beak. The tern's beak is nearly straight and sharply pointed, that of the frigate-bird is strongly hooked at the end of the upper mandible. I would also note the presence in the latter bird of a well-defined gular pouch, which is entirely absent in the terns.

The Sooty Tern breeds often in great colonies on rocky islands and reefs (the so-called "Wide-awake Fairs" on Ascension Islands are especially famous). One of its regular breeding-places is the small rocky island of Moto Nui, lying off the S.W. end of Easter Island close to the crater of Rano Kao. Mrs. Routledge has described the great annual ceremony which was observed by the Easter Islanders, in which the main feature was a competition to secure the first egg of the season after the arrival of the terns at their nesting site; and how the lucky winner in the race became the Bird-man of the year, enjoyed certain privileges combined with some discomfort due to his being placed under a rigid *tabu*. The sacred egg was preserved in his house until the next season.

Now, many of the rock-sculptures in relief, engravings and paintings found at Orongo on the lip of the crater of Rano Kao, are evidently connected directly with this cult. Some of the engravings clearly represent the *Manu*

tara (Sooty tern) itself (Fig. 15), the *straight*, pointed beak and forked tail pointing to this bird. But many of the other representations equally clearly represent the frigate-bird, with *hooked* beak and forked tail, or in several instances portray an anthropomorphized bird having frigate-bird attributes. I shall refer to many of these designs later when dealing with the hieroglyphic symbols on the inscribed tablets, but I would specially draw attention here to some examples of the designs representing half-bird half-man figures, of which more than 100 were seen by Mr. and Mrs. Routledge carved in relief on the rocks at Orongo, the centre of the annual ceremony, which are believed to represent the Bird-men, or winners in the successive annual races for the sacred egg. One of the illustrations which I give (Fig. 16) represents a bird-headed human figure grotesquely rendered, and another (Fig. 17) shows a similar figure which has a special interest, inasmuch as it is represented as carrying the sacred egg in its hand. Presumably, both these designs are concerned with the cult of *Manu tara*, and the second example certainly seems to represent the Bird-man carrying his trophy. At the same time, it cannot be said that the sharp, straight beak of the tern is at all clearly indicated, the beaks are in fact thick and heavy-looking. Moreover, the suggestion (especially pronounced in Fig. 17) of a gular pouch, seems to point to contamination with older designs representing the frigate-bird. That these designs were modified from an original representing the anthropomorphized frigate-bird is practically proved by three examples collected during the visit of the German cruiser "Hyäne," which are figured by Geiseler.[1] In each instance two identical figures having human bodies and birds' heads are shown seated opposite to one another with hands joined. In two of the designs which are bas-reliefs on stone-slabs, the birds' beaks curve strongly downward at the tips, while in the third, of which I give a copy (Fig.

[1] *Øster Insel*, 1883, plates 15, 17 and 18.

18),[1] the beaks are very decidedly *hooked* at the extremity, betraying the frigate-bird prototype clearly. These figures, according to Geiseler, represent *Make-make*, the god of the sea-bird's egg (*i.e.* of the *tern's* egg). It is remarkable, therefore, that he should be represented with the head of a frigate-bird. This mystery is, however, partly solved if we regard these representations as derived from an older cult of the frigate-bird, whose symbolism was retained even after a new cult-bird had replaced it. A comparison of Fig. 18 with Fig. 9 in my illustrations brings out the remarkable apparent fact that *Make-make*, represented in this guise, is identical with *Kesoko* of New Georgia in the Solomon Islands!

This seems to point to a recollection retained by the immigrants into Easter Island of a former cult of the frigate-bird which was practised in a region where this bird was a familiar feature, and which was gradually given up in the new environment where this bird, though probably not unknown, was certainly not abundant. The frigate-bird does not appear to breed on Easter Island; ndeed, the island offers little attraction as a nesting site to a bird which usually nests in trees. It appears probable that the older (Melanesian) cult was superseded by a new cult, of which the locally abundant sooty tern became the object. The evidence derived from comparative technology suggests very forcibly that the Melanesian area, and more particularly the Solomon Islands group, was the original home of the prototype of the frigate-bird cult which became decadent and finally obsolete after immigration into Easter Island.

V. *The script engraved on wooden tablets.* The most remarkable and puzzling element in the art of the Easter Islanders is undoubtedly the elaborate form of ideographic "boustrophedon" script, which has proved so insoluble an ethnological enigma. The inscribed tablets are too well known to need general description here, and many repro-

[1] One only of the paired figures is represented here.

ductions of them are accessible. In spite of numerous attempts to decipher the ideographic pictographs, the efforts have as yet been almost unavailing. No other similar form of script is known from the Pacific Islands, unless we admit some analogy in the hieroglyphs of the Chatham Islands, referred to by Dr. H. O. Forbes,[1] or in the geographically still more remote script described by Mr. J. M. Brown [2] from the island of Uleai in the Western Caroline Islands. This latter script is syllabic, whereas that of Easter Island is ideographic, and, moreover, the signs employed in the former do not suggest any near relationship to the latter.

My object now is to call attention to the fact that many of the ideographic signs in the Rapanuian script find striking counterparts in designs still employed in the Solomon Islands. Additional evidence is thus forthcoming of a culture-link between this Melanesian group and Easter Island. I have not had time to examine critically all the signs used in the Easter Island script, but I select a few which appear to me to be significant.

One thing is very noticeable. Of all the bird-symbols which are so very abundantly represented in the script under a variety of forms, by far the greater proportion clearly represent the *frigate-bird* (as indicated by the strongly hooked beak) and not the *Manu tara*, or sacred tern. The birds are variously depicted, some more or less realistically, others conventionally and often with human attributes, and I give the following characteristic examples, together with analogous (perhaps homologous) designs from the Solomon Islands.

Fig. 19. Pictograph of frigate-bird with outstretched wings in attitude of flight, Easter Island, for comparison with

[1] *Geographical Journal*, May, 1917, p. 346. (I have as yet had no opportunity of studying these petroglyphs.)

[2] *Man*, June, 1914, No. 43.

Fig. 19*a*. Design of frigate-bird engraved on bamboo, from New Georgia, Solomon Islands.

Fig 20. Pictograph of flying frigate-bird in profile, Easter Island, for comparison with

Fig. 20*a*. Similar design engraved on a lime gourd, New Georgia.

Fig. 21. Pictograph of double-headed frigate-bird, Easter Island,[1] for comparison with

Fig. 21*a*. Pearl-shell pendant in form of double-headed frigate-bird from New Georgia.

Fig. 22. Pictograph of frigate-bird depicted with one fore-limb represented as a normal wing and the other as a human arm holding up a fish, Easter Island, for comparison with

Fig. 22*a*. Design of frigate-bird similarly represented with one normal wing and the other converted into a human arm and hand holding a fish; carved on a dancing paddle from the Solomon Islands. This is, I think, a most striking instance of exact parallelism. The symbolism in the two designs must surely be identical!

From the frequency with which the frigate-bird appears in the Easter Island script, it seems probable that the script itself originated in the Melanesian area and was perfected in Easter Island while the memory of this bird and of its cult-associations still persisted. The newer bird-cult connected with the tern seems to have had but little influence upon the script.

Bird-headed human figures abound in the Easter Island script, as, for instance, Fig. 23, Pictograph of very prognathous human being, in profile, seated and with hand raised, for comparison with Fig. 23*a*. Similar design but represented with frigate-bird's head (*Kesoko*), cut upon bamboo, from Mungeri district, New Georgia (*cf.* Fig. 9). Figures 24

[1] Compare rock-sculpture figured by W. J. Thomson, *Rep. Nat. Mus.*, 1891, pl. xxiii.

to 33 show a number of avio-human pictographs from the Easter Island tablets, in which sometimes the human attributes predominate and sometimes the avian.

Lastly, I give a striking parallel derived from figures of the human form without avian attributes. Fig. 34, Pictograph of a man seated in a peculiar, conventional manner, with legs wide apart, "spread-eagle" fashion. The hands are raised and one is holding a fish. The head is represented with lateral appendages indicating, no doubt, the largely distended ears already referred to—Easter Island; for comparison with Fig. 34*a*, Design of human figure represented rather more realistically in an identical attitude, with wide-spread legs, upraised hands and dilated ear-lobes indicated by large lateral appendages. The figure is not shown holding up a fish as in the pictograph, but on either side of it a fish is represented. Again, I think, a very striking parallel.

Conclusion. What are we to infer from the ethnological parallels to which I have drawn attention? Many of the coincidences revealed by a comparative study of the culture of Easter Island and of the Western Pacific, may appear to be of trivial importance if taken singly; but many, on the other hand, are sufficiently striking in themselves, and when all are taken together, the *cumulative* effect of the evidence is far too important to be overlooked and lightly set aside. I venture to think that the following points arise from the evidence available.

(1) That the culture of Easter Island is definitely composite and exhibits traces of fusion of at least two distinct culture-stocks.

(2) That a Melanesian migration at one time, or intermittently, ranged eastwards over the Pacific, and that these people reached Rapanui, amongst other islands, and took root there. That typical elements of Melanesian culture were thus introduced into the island, including the practice of distending the ear-lobe, characteristic

style in art, certain types of implements, and the well-established cult of the frigate-bird, which was probably connected with rites aiming at increasing the fish-supply.

(3) That at a later time, a wave of Polynesian immigrants arrived and eventually conquered, partly exterminated and partly absorbed the "long-eared" Melanesians, though they retained, and continued to perpetuate in their art, many of the features of Melanesian culture.

(4) That in the new environment a new bird-cult, aiming at promoting another important source of food-supply (*viz.* birds and bird's eggs), was initiated and gradually supplanted the older cult. This new cult may have been started and developed either by the Melanesians, who no longer found the frigate-bird a dominant feature in their new surroundings, and who may thus have been led to adopt the sooty tern, which was locally very prominent and abundant and afforded a valuable supply of food—or, possibly, it may have been initiated by the Polynesian invaders. Anyway, the cult of the Sooty tern, while practically ousting the cult of the Frigate-bird, did not entirely obliterate the latter, of which very many traces persisted in the art of the island, in the *motifs* expressed in sculpture, engraving and painting, and particularly in the ideographic script. It is possible, even, in view of the great importance of the fish-supply, that the frigate-bird may have been long retained in high esteem, and that its cult persisted concurrently with that of the tern.

(5) That, in seeking in the Melanesian area for possible clues to the origin of certain non-Polynesian elements in the culture of Easter Island, the group of islands which has special claim to consideration and further investigation, is that of the Solomon Islands. Amongst other things, it seems likely that the symbolism of many of the ideographic signs employed in the Easter Island script, may be explained by a study on the spot of the closely similar designs still

used in the Solomon Islands, the symbolic significance of which might be ascertained before it is too late.

Certain affinities suggested by the implements and art, etc., of the Chatham Islands, of New Zealand and of British New Guinea, also merit attention and call for further research. I have already referred to certain points of resemblance, and I would suggest further that a comparative study of the *manaia* design in New Zealand art, might lead to an elucidation of certain conventional signs frequently occurring in the Easter Island script. The problem of Easter Island seems to involve incidentally a fresh discussion upon the possible or probable Melanesian element in New Zealand and the Chatham Islands. That well-defined traces of this non-Polynesian element are to be distinguished in the culture of these islands, has been questioned by several able observers, but to others, with whom I find myself in agreement, it is difficult to explain certain " Maori " and " Moriori " culture-phenomena unless we recognize that there has been influence from Melanesia.

As to the spread of Melanesianism, if I may use the term, over the Polynesian area, much might be said, but space does not admit of my entering upon so wide a subject. I will merely recall Mr. Basil Thomson's statement that in the Island of Niue he found evidence of Melanesian and Polynesian admixture, and also refer to the fact that in the far-easterly and very-Polynesian Marquisas Islands, there is very striking evidence pointing unmistakably to culture-contact with the Melanesian area.

I may conclude my remarks with a reference to another source of evidence which testifies to the presence of a Melanesian element in Easter Island, and which bears out not only the technological evidence which I have offered, but also the native traditions. I cannot do better than quote a passage from some remarks made by Mr. T. A. Joyce during the discussion of Mrs. Routledge's paper on Easter Island read before the Royal Geographical

Society on 20th November, 1916. He said,[1] "There is just one other point which adds to the problems of the island. A few years ago, when Lord Crawford made his voyage, he brought back a lot of skulls which were deposited in the Natural History Museum, whither I went to measure them. I then wrote a paper which I never published; it remained both literally and metaphorically a skeleton in my anthropological cupboard, because I could not get away from the conclusion that in their measurements and general appearance these skulls were far more Melanesian than Polynesian. And I do not think I should have been bold enough to say this now if it had not been that quite recently Mr. Pycraft has been going over the material and studying the matter, and he, without knowing anything of my results, which I had carefully hidden, came to the same conclusion." I believe that Dr. Keith has quite recently arrived at a similar opinion after examining the physical characters of the osteological remains of Easter Islanders.

Dr. Hamy, some thirty years ago, suggested a Papuan affinity for skulls found in Easter Island, which were said to differ in no essential feature from those obtained in New Guinea.

The theory of a strong Melanesian element in Easter Island is, therefore, supported by native traditional history, by the arts, industries and cults of the natives, and, lastly, by the physical characters of the islanders.

It is greatly to be hoped that under the fresh impulse afforded by the results of the Routledge expedition, the whole time-honoured problem of Easter Island may be reopened for discussion, and it is with much pleasure that I contribute these notes, sketchy and imperfect though they be. Not only is the problem one of the highest ethnological interest, but its attempted solution with the aid of material and information so zealously collected by

[1] *Geographical Journal*, xlix. p. 342.

Mr. and Mrs. Routledge, is the most effective return which can be made to them for their highly meritorious and successful undertaking.

HENRY BALFOUR.

THE KILLING OF THE KHAZAR KINGS.

BY SIR J. G. FRAZER.

At a certain stage of social evolution not a few races appear to have been in the habit of putting their kings to death, either at the end of a fixed term, or on the failure of the king's health and strength, or simply whenever a great public calamity, such as drought or famine, had befallen the country. Among the peoples who have practised this remarkable system of limited monarchy, and have elevated regicide to the dignity of a public institution, must seemingly be numbered the Khazars or Khozars, a nation of south-eastern Russia, who in the Middle Ages maintained their independence for many centuries alike against Persia and the Byzantine Empire, carried on a busy trade between the east and the west, and repelled the wave of Mohammedan conquest, which, but for their resistance, might have deluged Europe from the south-east. It is hardly too much to say that during those dark ages when the power of Christendom sank to its lowest ebb, and the power of Islam rose to its highest pitch, Europe was protected against the swelling tide of Moslem aggression by three great mountain barriers, the Caucasus on the south-east, the Balkans in the centre, and the Pyrenees on the south-west; and that the passes which led over these ranges into the heart of the continent were guarded by three peoples, the Khazars, the Byzantine Greeks, and the Spaniards. Of these three redoubtable champions of Christendom, the Khazars have long dis-

appeared and even their name is now hardly known but to students of the bypaths of history.

Yet for some nine hundred years or more (190-1100 A.D.) this almost forgotten people played a great part in history on the borderland of Europe and Asia. Their home was in the spurs of the Caucasus and along the western shore of the Caspian, which took its name (Sea of the Khazars) from them; but at the height of their power they ruled over the whole of south-eastern Russia from the Dneiper to the middle Volga, together with the adjoining part of Asia along the eastern coast of the Caspian as far south as Astrabad. On the south their boundary never altered greatly; at times, indeed, it extended southward as far as the Cyrus and even the Araxes, but on that side the Khazars had to face the Byzantine and Persian empires and were for the most part restrained within the passes of the Caucasus. Their capital was Itil in the delta of the Volga, but they possessed other populous and civilized cities, such as Semender (Tarkhu), which was the older capital, and Sarkel, or the White Abode, on the Don. All the Khazar cities were centres of commerce. Indeed the Khazars have been described as "the Venetians of the Caspian and the Euxine, the organizers of the transit between the two basins; the universal carriers between East and West." Merchants from every nation found protection, justice, and good faith in the Khazar cities. Exiled from Constantinople, the Jews sought a home among them, developed their trade, and contended with their Mohammedan and Christian rivals for the religious allegiance of the pagan people. The reigning house accepted Judaism, apparently about the middle of the eighth century; but all faiths were equally tolerated, and every man was held amenable to the authorized code and to the official judges of the religion which he professed. At the Byzantine court the *khakan*, or sovereign of the Khazars, was held in high honour. The Emperor

Justinian Rhinotmetus took refuge with him during his banishment and married his daughter: his rival Bardanes also sought an asylum in the land of the Khazars; and in Leo IV. the grandson of a Khazar sovereign ascended the Byzantine throne.

The origin and affinities of this interesting people appear to be still disputed. Many have assigned them to the Turkish stock; others to the Ugrians or Eastern Finns; and some have even claimed them as Jews on account of their use of the Hebrew character and the profession of the Hebrew faith among them. "But their geographical position, their history, and the contemporary witness we have as to their physical character, their language, and their own national tradition, may be accepted as conclusive proof that the Khazars were an indigenous people of the Caucasus, and near akin to the Armenians and the Georgians." [1]

It is very remarkable that a custom of legalized regicide should have been practised among a people so comparatively advanced and civilized as the Khazars appear to have been, and of whom it has been said that "their government was regular, settled, and well organized.

[1] As to the Khazars, see C. M. Fraehn, "Veteres memoriae Chasarorum ex Ibn-Foszlano, Ibn-Haukale et Schems-ed-Dino Damasceno, Arabice et Latine," *Mémoires de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St. Pétersbourg*, viii. (1822), pp. 576-620; Klaproth, "Mémoire sur les Khazars," *Journal Asiatique*, iii. (Paris, 1823), pp. 153-160; C. D'Ohsson, *Des Peuples du Caucase* (Paris, 1828), chapitres ii. et iii. pp. 30-71; K. F. Neumann, *Die Völker des südlichen Russlands* (Leipsic, 1847), pp. 99 *sqq.*; P. Lyttelton Gell, *s.v.* "Khazars," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, ninth edition, xiv. (1882), pp. 59 *sq.*; H. Hirschfeld, *Das Buch Al-Chazarí, aus dem arabischen des Abu-l-Hasan Jehuda Hallewi übersetzt* (Breslau, 1885), pp. xi. *sqq.* Mr. Lyttelton Gell's article contains a good general account of the Khazars, with references to the original authorities. The quotations in the text are made from it. The work of D'Ohsson consists of a series of extracts from the original Arab authorities, translated into French and strung together on the thread of the imaginary travels of a certain Abu-el-Cassim, whom the writer supposes to have been sent on an embassy from the Caliph to the Bulgarians of the Volga in 948 A.D.

They were not wild barbarians like the Huns and the Avars."[1] Their case escaped me when I was collecting instances of such legalized regicide for *The Golden Bough*. My attention was first drawn to it in 1912 by Miss Barbara Freire-Marreco, who was so kind as to send me a long extract on the subject from the mediaeval Arab historian and geographer Abulfeda. Subsequently the Khazar practice of killing their sacred kings was described by Mr. Géza Roheim in an article contributed to *Man*.[2] But as his account seems to be based on the works of modern Hungarian historians, and the Khazar custom is probably still but little known, it may be worth while to put together those passages of mediaeval authors which describe in some detail the Khazar kings and their limited tenure of the crown. All the authors in question appear to be Arabs, or at least to have written in Arabic, but their works are accessible to the unlearned in translations, from which I borrow the following extracts. Some of the most important passages were long ago collected and edited in Arabic, with Latin translations, by C. M. Fraehn in the *Memoirs* of the Academy of St. Petersburg.[3]

The earliest writer to give an account of the Khazar kings from personal observation was Ahmed ibn Foszlan, Fuḍhlan, or Faḍlan, as his name is variously spelled, who travelled through Khazaria in the year 921 or 922 A.D., at a time when the kingdom was still at the height of its power and glory. He was sent from Baghdad by the Caliph Moktadir on an embassy to the king of the Bulgarians whose dominions then lay on the Volga in central Russia, and on his return to Baghdad he described in a book all that he had observed worthy of note on his journey. His work appears to be lost, but the portion of it which

[1] Klaproth, "Mémoire sur les Khazars," *Journal Asiatique*, iii. (Paris, 1823), p. 153.

[2] Géza Róheim, "Killing the Divine King," *Man*, xv. (1915), pp. 26-28.

[3] See above, p. 384 note.

relates to the Khazars was fortunately incorporated in his *Geographical Dictionary* by the Arab writer Yakut, who, after a chequered life as a slave, commercial traveller, bookseller, copyist, and author, died near Aleppo in the year 1229 A.D.[1] The following are extracts from it :

"Ahmed, son of Foszlan, sent as envoy of (the Caliph) Moktadir to the Slavs, related in a little book everything that he saw with his own eyes in these regions, and in that book he says that Khazar is the name of a certain country, of which the capital is called Itil. Itil is also the name of the river (Volga) which flows from Russia and Bulgaria to Khazaria. Itil is the city, Khazar is the name of the kingdom, not of the city. The city is in two parts, of which the larger is situated on the western bank of the river Itil (Volga), while the other lies on the eastern side of the river. The king resides in the western part. In their tongue he is called *Ilek* and also *Bak*. This western part extends to the length of a parasang and is surrounded by a wall, but the buildings in it are few and far between. Now their edifices are huts made of felt, with a few exceptions, which are made of mud. They have market-places and baths. Many Mohammedans are found there ; indeed there are said to be more than ten thousand of them in the town, and they have thirty mosques. The king's palace is at a distance from the bank of the river and is built of baked bricks. No other person besides him is privileged to dwell in a house made of bricks, for the king will not suffer it. In the wall there are four gates, of which one leads to the river, and another to the desert, beyond the fields of the city.

"Their king is a Jew, and he is said to have four thou-

[1] C. M. Fraehn, *op. cit.* p. 579 ; C. D'Ohsson, *Des Peuples du Caucase*, p. ix. ; C. Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionnaire géographique, historique et litteraire de la Perse et des Contrées adjacentes, extrait du* Módjem-el-Bouldan *de Yakout* (Paris, 1861), pp. iv. *sqq.* ; C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur* (Weimar, 1898—Berlin, 1902), i. 227 *sq.* 479 *sq.* Ibn Foszlan (Fadlan) set out from Baghdad in June, 921 A.D., and reached the Bulgarian kingdom on the Volga in May, 922 A.D.

sand retainers attached to his person. The Khazars themselves, however, are Mohammedans and Christians. Idolaters are also found among them. The fewest numerically in the country are the Jews, though the king himself is of their number. The most numerous are the Mohammedans and the Christians; nevertheless the king and his retainers profess the Jewish religion. In the manners of the idolaters the most noticeable feature is that they prostrate themselves in token of reverence for each other, and observe certain sacred ordinances according to customs which differ from the religion of the Mohammedans, Jews, and Christians. The king's standing army consists of twelve thousand soldiers, of whom as soon as one is dead another is enlisted in his place, nor is their number ever diminished. Their pay is neither large nor frequent; indeed what they get is very little, and even that at long intervals, when either a war is to be waged by them or some calamity has occurred, on account of which they are mustered.

"The public revenues of the kingdom of the Khazars are derived either from the customs or from tithes levied on merchandise, and these dues, in accordance with their institutions, are levied on every highway, sea, and river. Land taxes are also collected from the inhabitants of villages and districts on every sort of food, drink, and other things, so far as is necessary.

"The king is assisted by nine judges chosen from among the Jews, Christians, Mohammedans, and idolaters. If any person takes the law of another, these judges decide his suit. Petitioners are not allowed access to the king himself; for none but these judges are admitted to his presence. But on the day of judgment an intermediary goes backward and forward between the judges and the king, informing the king of the business in hand, and reporting to the judges the king's command, which they must carry out.

"This city (Itil) has no villages. The fields of the citizens are scattered over a space of twenty parasangs, and in summer the townspeople go forth to them, sow them, and when the crops are ripe, they gather them and convey them in wagons or ships to the river or the deserts. The greater part of their food consists of rice and fish. Everything else found in their country is imported from Russia, Bulgaria, and Kûjabâ. Most of the merchants dwell in the eastern part of the city; there, too, the Mohammedans reside and the wares are stored.

"The language of the Khazars differs from the Turkish and the Persian, nor has it anything in common with the language of any people.

"The Khazars are not like the Turks. They have black hair. There are two sorts of them. The one sort are called the Kara Khazars (that is, the Black Khazars); they are of a dusky complexion verging on black, so that they might be taken for a species of Indians. The other sort are of a white complexion and remarkable for their beauty and symmetry. All the slaves found among the Khazars are idolaters, for the idolaters deem it lawful to sell their children and to carry off their fellows into slavery. Whereas the Jews and Christians, who dwell in that country, esteem it contrary to their religion to carry off people into slavery, and the Mohammedans are of the same opinion.

"Nothing is exported from the land of the Khazars to other countries, but whatever is conveyed down from it has first been imported into it, such as flour, honey, wax, and the skins of otters and other animals.

"As for the King of the Khazars, whose title is khakan, he does not show himself in public except once in every four months, when he goes forth for his diversion to his pleasances. He is called the Great khakan, and his viceroy is called the khakan bh (?). It is the latter who leads and commands the armies, administers and superintends the affairs of state, appears in public, and conducts warlike

expeditions; it is he whom neighbouring kings obey. Every day he consults the sovereign khakan, with an assumed air of modesty, respect, and gravity. Nor may he approach him except barefoot and holding in his hand a stick, which, after saluting him, he kindles in his presence. After that he sits down with the king on his own throne to the right of the monarch. After him comes a man who is called Kender Khakan, and after him again another, who is called Chaushiar. It is the custom that the supreme and sovereign king admits nobody to an interview: nobody is admitted to him except him whom I mentioned before. The government, the punishment of the guilty, and the administration of the realm are presided over by the viceroy, the khakan bh.

"It has been ordained by their ancestors, that when the sovereign king dies, a great palace (mausoleum) should be built for him divided into twenty chambers, and that in each chamber there should be dug a grave, the bottom of which should be paved with stones so crushed as to present the appearance of powdered antimony, while the whole is covered from above with quicklime. Under the palace flows a great river, and they make the grave above it, saying that this is done lest Satan, or man, or worm, or other creeping thing should approach it. When the King is buried, the heads of those who laid him to rest are cut off, that no man may know in which of the chambers his grave is situated. This grave of his is called Paradise, and he himself is said to have entered Paradise. Moreover, all the chambers are tapestried with cloth of gold.

"It is customary for the king of the Khazars to have twenty-five wives, all daughters of one or other of the neighbouring kings, whom he has married with or without their consent. Further, he has sixty concubines, all remarkable for their beauty. Each one of these women dwells in a palace of her own, in a *kubbâ* (vaulted chamber) roofed with the wood of the Indian plane. About each

kubbâ a tent is pitched. Every one of these damsels is attended by a eunuch, who guards her behind a curtain. Now when the king desires to take his pleasure with any of them, he sends to the eunuch, her guardian, by whom in less than the twinkling of an eye she is brought and placed in the king's bed. But the eunuch stands sentinel before the door of the royal chamber, and when the damsel is dismissed by the king, the eunuch takes her by the hand and leads her home, and does not thereafter leave her even for a moment.

"When the sovereign king rides on horseback in public, the whole army marches out to escort him in procession, but an interval of a mile is left between him and these cavalry. Nor does any of his subjects see him without falling on his face and humbly doing him reverence, and not raising his head until the king has passed by.

"Forty years are fixed for their king's reign. If he exceeds that term even by one day, his citizens and courtiers put him to death, alleging as the reason, that his mental powers are decayed and his wisdom impaired.

"A regiment sent by him on an expedition never turns its back on the enemy; for were it to take to flight, every soldier who should return to the king would pay for it with his head. But if the officers or the viceroy run away, the king sends for them, with their wives and children, and in their presence bestows their wives and children on others, together with their beasts of burden, furniture, weapons, and houses. It sometimes happens that he cuts them through the middle and hangs up the severed parts; sometimes he hangs them by the neck from trees. Occasionally, when he is favourably disposed to them, he makes them his grooms." [1]

Such is the account of the Khazar kings which the Arab geographer Yakut has extracted from the original narrative

[1] C. M. Fraehn, "Veteres Memoriae Chasarorum," etc., *Mémoires de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St. Pétersbourg*, viii. (1822), pp. 589-593.

of Ahmed ibn Foszlan. In the National Library at Paris there is preserved a manuscript abridgement of Yakut's work, in which his account of the Khazars and their king is condensed into a few lines, as follows :

"Country of the Khozars, a numerous race of Turks, who dwell to the north of Babal abouab ; they are of two sorts, the one white, the other blond or red. Their houses are made of mud. They have market-places and baths. They dwell on the banks of the river Atel. Among them are many Mussulmans, Christians, Jews, and pagans. When their king has reigned more than forty years, they kill him." [1]

Further, we possess accounts of the Khazars and their kings written by two other Arab travellers and geographers of the tenth century A.D. One of these is Abul-Hasan Ali, commonly known as El Mas'údy, because he was descended in the eighth generation from Mas'úd, one of the companions of Mohammed. Born at Baghdad towards the end of the ninth century A.D., he spent a great part of his life in travel. Among the countries which he visited were India, Ceylon, China, Madagascar, and the region of the Caspian. He did not travel for gain. His motive was scientific curiosity ; he desired to see every land for himself and to observe and record everything notable in the antiquities, the history, and the manners of the peoples. His most famous book, which bears the fanciful title, *Meadows of Gold and Mines of Precious Stones,* was begun in the year 332 of the Hegira (943-4 A.D.) and finished in the year 336 (947-8 A.D.). It has survived in an abridgement, of which there are many manuscripts in European libraries. On account of the range of his observations and his naive uncritical honesty in recording them, he has been called the

[1] M. de Guignes, "Exposition de ce qu'il y a de plus remarquable (sur la terre) et des Merveilles du Roi Tout-puissant, par Abdorraschid, fils de Saleh, fils de Nouri, surnommé Yakouti," *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi,* iii. (Paris, 1789), p. 532.

Arab Herodotus. "The parallel, however, must be taken with great deductions. Of the *Meadows*, the work by which Mas'údy is chiefly known, by far the greater part is an historical compilation, enlivened indeed in some parts by personal recollections of places and the like, but mainly drawn from a vast mass of earlier books which are used in the common paste-and-scissors fashion of Eastern history. Even in the earlier cosmographical chapters the author's vast and miscellaneous reading, which included the Arabic translations of Ptolemy and other Greek writers, is mingled with his original observations in that ill-digested style so often characteristic of men of prodigious acquisitive power." [1]

The following is El-Mas'údy's account of the Khazars and their kings:

"The nation nearest to Báb el-Abwáb are the Haïdan. They form one of the kingdoms of the Khazars. Next to Haïdan is the kingdom of the Khazars. Their metropolis was the city of Semender, which is eight days' journey from the town of Báb el-Abwáb. This city has a numerous population of Khazars, but it is no longer the capital, for when Solaïman Ben Rabí'ah el-Báhilí conquered Semender in the beginning of the Islám, the king transferred his residence to Itil, which is seven days' journey from Semender; and since this time the kings of the Khazars reside there.

"This town (Itil) is divided into three parts, by a large river, which rises from the higher regions of the country of the Turks, and from which an arm branches off, somewhere near the country of the Targhiz (Bulgarians), and falls into the sea of Máyotis.[2] This town has two sides. In the

[1] *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, ninth edition, xv. (Edinburgh, 1883), pp. 623 *sq.*; C. D'Ohsson, *Des Peuples du Caucase*, pp. iii-viii; C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur* (Weimar, 1898—Berlin, 1902), i. 143-145.

[2] "The error that the Don is a branch of the Wolga is also met with in Byzantine authors (Klaproth)." (Translator's note.)

middle of the river is an island, in which the king resides. The palace of the king stands on the extremity of this island, and is connected by a bridge of boats with one of the two sides of the town. In this town are many Moslims and Christians, Jews and pagans. The king, his suite, [and the Khazar of his army,[1]] embraced the tenets of the Jews, in the reign of er-Rashíd. To this king flock the Jews from all the Moslim districts, and from the Byzantine empire; for the emperor forced the Jews of his dominions to turn Christians, and loaded the converts with favours. The present [332, A.H.] Byzantine emperor is Armanus (Romanus II.). . . .

"One of the various Pagan nations who live in his [the king of the Khazars] country are the Sekálibah (Sclavonians), and another the Rús (the Russians). They live in one of the two sides of this town: they burn the dead with their cattle, utensils, arms, and ornaments. When a man dies, his wife is burnt alive with him; but, when the wife dies, her husband is not burnt. If a bachelor dies, he is married after his death. Women are glad to be burnt; for they cannot enter into Paradise by themselves. This usage prevails also among the Hindus, as we have said. But the Hindus never burn a woman with her husband, unless it is her own wish.

"The majority of the population of this country are Moslims; for the standing army of the king consists of Moslims. They are called al-Lárisians, and come from Khowárezm; whence they emigrated at an early period, after the spreading of the Islám; on account of drought and plague which had visited their country. They are brave, good soldiers, and form the strength of the king of the Khazars in his wars. They fixed certain conditions under which they would establish themselves in his country; one of these conditions was, that they should be allowed to profess publicly the Islám; to build mosques and call out

[1] "These words are left out in some copies." (Translator's note.)

the prayers; and that the vizier of the kingdom should be a man of their religion and nation. The vizier there is at present from amongst them; his name is Ahmed Ben Kuwaïh. Another condition is, that if the king of the Khazars should have a war against the Moslims, they would remain separate in his camp (observe neutrality), and not fight against a nation who profess the same religion; but they would fight for him against any other nation. There are, at present, seven thousand horsemen of theirs, in the army of the king, armed with bows and equipped in cuirasses, helmets, and coats of mail: he has also some spearsmen. In point of arms, they are like the soldiers in Moslim countries. Their supreme judges, in religious and civil matters, are Moslims.

"In accordance with the constitution of the kingdom of the Khazars, there are nine supreme judges in the country; two of them for the Moslims; two for the Khazars, who follow the laws of the Pentateuch in passing sentence; two for the Christians, who follow the laws of the gospel in their decisions; and one for the Sclavonians, Russians, and the other pagan population. The pagan judge decides after the heathen laws; that is to say, the dictates of reason, (not revelation). If any important case comes before him, he refers to the Moslim judges, and lets them decide after the law of the Islám.

"There is no other king in these parts who has *paid* troops, except the king of the Khazars. Every Moslim has there the name Lárisian, (although he may not be of this nation,) and it is even extended to such Russians and Sclavonians as serve in the (standing) army or household of the king; although they are pagans as we have said. But there are many Moslims in this kingdom besides the Lárisians; they are artisans, tradespeople, and merchants, who have been attracted by the justice and security (of persons and property) afforded by the government. They have a great public mosque, the Mináret of which rises

above the royal palace; and several private mosques, where children are instructed in reading the Korán. If the Moslims and Christians, who are there, agree, the king has no power over them.

"El-Mas'údi says, What we have said does not refer to the king of the Khazars himself, but we mean the Khákán (*Major domus*); for there is a king in the country of the Khazars, besides the Khákán. He is shut up in his palace: he never makes a public procession, nor does he show himself to the nobility or the people, and he never goes out from his palace. His person is sacred, but he has nothing to do with the affairs of the state, either to command or forbid. Everything is administered by the Khákán for the king, who lives with him in the same palace. If a drought, or any other misfortune, befalls the country of the Khazars, or if a war or any other accident happens to them, the lower and higher classes of the nation run to the king, and say, 'The administration of this Khákán brings misfortune upon us: put him to death, or deliver him to us, that we may kill him.' Sometimes he delivers him to them, and they put him to death; at other times he takes charge himself of the execution; and sometimes he has pity on him, protects him, and sets him free without doing him any harm, although he might have deserved it. I do not know whether this institution dates from ancient times, or whether it has been recently introduced. The Khákán is chosen from among the nobility by their chiefs; but I think that the royalty of the present dynasty takes date from a remote period." [1]

Another writer of the tenth century A.D., who has described the Khazars and their kings, is the Arab traveller

[1] El-Mas'údi's *Historical Encyclopaedia, entitled "Meadows of Gold and Mines of Gems"*: translated from the Arabic by Aloys Sprenger, M.D., vol. i. (London, 1841), pp. 406-411. In transcribing this passage I have taken the liberty of uniformly writing Khazars instead of Khazar, wherever the latter appears to be used by the translator in the plural sense.

and geographer Abul-Cassim Mohammed ibn Haukal or Haukali, author of a work called *Book of the Itineraries and of the Provinces*, in which he describes the Mohammedan countries on the basis of his personal researches and of the journeys which he had undertaken for the purposes of commerce. He tells us that he began his researches and travels in early youth, and that he set out from Baghdad in the year 331 of the Hegira (942-3 A.D.); but his book was not written till the year 366 of the Hegira (976-7 A.D.). A manuscript of the original work, in Arabic, is preserved in the library at Leyden, but it is said to be so faulty that the meaning is often unintelligible. The book exists also in a Persian translation, of which an English version was published by Sir William Ouseley.[1] The portions of it which describe the tribes of the Caucasus, including the Khazars, are extracted and translated into French from the Arabic manuscript at Leyden by C. D'Ohsson in his work on the peoples of the Caucasus.[2]

The following is the account which Ibn Haukal gives of the Khazars and their kings, as translated by Sir William Ouseley from the Persian:

"After one passes Moukan to Derbend, for two days' journey the country is Shirwan; from that to Semender, fourteen days' journey; and from Semender to Atel. This Atel is a certain river which comes from Rous and Bulgar. One half of this river belongs to the western side, the other to the eastern. The sovereign of Atel resides on the western side: he is styled king, and surnamed Baul. Here are many tents; and in this country there are but a few edifices of clay, such as bazars (marketplaces), and bathing houses. In these territories are about

[1] Ebn Haukal, *Oriental Geography*, translated by Sir William Ouseley (London, 1800), pp. ii. *sqq.*; C. M. Fraehn, "Veteres Memoriae Chasarorum," *Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences de St. Pétersbourg*, viii. (1822), p. 581; C. D'Ohsson, *Des Peuples du Caucase* (Paris, 1828), pp. viii. *sq.*

[2] C. D'Ohsson, *Des Peuples du Caucase*, pp. 31 *sqq.*

ten thousand Mussulmans. The king's habitation is at a distance from the shore: it is constructed of burnt bricks; and this is the only building of such materials in all the country: they will not allow any body but the king to erect such a dwelling. The city of Atel has four gates. One of those gates faces the river; another looks towards Iran, in the direction of the desert. The king of this country is a Jew: he has in his train four thousand Mussulmans and Khozrians (Christians), and idolaters; but his principal people are Jews: and this king has twelve thousand soldiers in his service, of whom when one dies, another person is immediately chosen into his place; and they have no other commander but him. And this king has under him nine magistrates or judges: these are Mussulmans, Jews, Christians, and Idolaters. The smallest in number of the inhabitants of this country are the Jews; the greatest in number are the Mussulmans and Christians: but the king and his chief officers are Jews. There are magistrates of each religion; and when they sit in the tribunal of justice, they are obliged to report to the king all that passes, and to bring back his answer and opinion, and to put his sentence into execution.

"This city has not any suburbs; but the cultivated fields and grounds extend for nearly twenty farsang. Agriculture is much practised, and the husbandmen carry the produce of their labour in boats and carriages to the city. The chief diet of this people is fish and rice: they bring honey and wax from the borders of Rous. The principal persons of Atel are Mussulmans and merchants: their language is like that of the Turks (or Tartars), and is not understood by any other nation. . . .

"The people of Khorz are near the Turks, whom they resemble. They are of two classes; one of blackish complexions, and such dark hair that you would suppose them to be descended from the Hindoos: the other race fair complexioned; these sell their children; but it is not

allowed among the Jews and the Christians to sell, or make one another slaves.

"They bring from other countries those commodities which Khozr does not produce, such as tapestry or curtains, honey, candles, and similar articles. The people of Khozr have not materials for making garments or clothes: they therefore import them from Gurkan, Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Roum. Their king is styled the Khacan of Khozr.

"When a prince is to be raised to the Khacanship, they bring him forth, and tie a piece of silk about his throat, so tight that he can scarcely draw his breath. At that moment they ask him, how long he will hold the sovereignty? He answers, 'so many years.' He then is set at liberty, and becomes Khacan of Khozr. But if he should not die before the expiration of the time he mentioned, when that space is fulfilled, they put him to death.

"The Khacan must always be of the Imperial race. No one is allowed to approach him but on business of importance: then they prostrate themselves before him, and rub their faces on the ground, until he gives orders for their approaching him, and speaking. When a Khacan of Khozr dies, whoever passes near his tomb goes on foot, and pay his respects at the grave; and when he is departing, must not mount on horseback, as long as the tomb is within view.

"So absolute is the authority of this sovereign, and so implicitly are his commands obeyed, that if it seemed expedient to him that one of his nobles should die, and if he said to him, 'Go and kill yourself,' the man would immediately go to his house, and kill himself accordingly. The succession to the Khacanship being thus established in the same family, when the turn of the inheritance arrives to any individual of it, he is confirmed in the dignity, though he possesses not a single dirhem. And I have heard from persons worthy of belief, that a certain young man used to sit in a little shop at the public market-place,

selling petty articles; and that the people used to say, 'When the present Khacan shall have departed, this man will succeed to the throne.' But the young man was a Mussulman, and they give the Khacanship only to Jews.

"The Khacan has a throne and pavilion of gold: these are not allowed to any other person. The palace of the Khacan is loftier than the other edifices. . . . The language of Bulgar and of Khozr is the same." [1]

In the original of Ibn Haukal's work the account of the installation of the Khozar king appears to be slightly fuller than in the Persian version. The following translation of the passage is made from Fraehn's Latin version of the Arabic original:

"When the king is dead and another is to be appointed in his room, the khakan has him brought and admonishes and exhorts him; he declares to him both what he owes to others and what others owe to him, (that is to say,) his royal rights and duties; he sets before him the burdens of monarchy, and the reproach of sin and crime which he will incur if, in the discharge of his office, he should fall short of his duty in the administration which he is about to undertake, or should act rashly, or show himself corrupt and unjust in the seat of judgment. Now when he is brought to be invested with the kingdom and to receive the salutations of his subjects, the khakan puts a silken cord about his neck and begins to strangle him, and when he is almost choked, they ask him how many years he desires to reign, to which he answers, 'Such and such a number of years.' Afterwards, if he dies before the expiry of the term, it is well, but if not, whenever he attains to the appointed year, he is put to death." [2]

[1] Ebn Haukal, *Oriental Geography*, translated by Sir William Ouseley (London, 1800), pp. 185-190.

[2] C. M. Fraehn, "Veteres Memoriae Chasarorum," *Mémoires de l'Académie Impériale de St. Pétersbourg*, viii. (1822), p. 610.

A similar, but briefer, report of the custom is given by the Arab cosmographer, Shems-ed-din Mohammed Dimeshky; he seems to have derived his information about the Khazars from Ibn-el-Asir, who died in 1233 A.D. The passage relating to the appointment of the Khazar king runs as follows:

"They begin to strangle the man whom they wish to make their king. When he has thus been brought to the point of death, they ask him, how many years he wishes to reign, and he answers, 'Such and such a number of years.' His answer is written down and attested by witnesses. If he should live till the expiry of the set term, he is put to death." [1]

It will be observed that, whereas in the Persian version of Ibn Haukal it is the new khakan who is said to have been thus forcibly interrogated as to the length of his future reign, in the Arabic original and in Dimeshky's account it is the new king who is subjected to this stringent interrogatory. The discrepancy betrays a certain confusion between the two personages who divided the Khazar sovereignty between them; but the analogy of similar customs elsewhere renders it practically certain that it was the sacred and nominally supreme potentate, rather than his civil and nominally subordinate colleague, whose reign was limited in this peremptory fashion.

The last notice of the Khazars, or Khozars, and their kings which I shall cite is extracted from the *Geography* of the eminent Arab historian and geographer Abulfeda, who was born at Damascus in 1273 A.D. and died in 1331 A.D. at the ancient Syrian city of Hamah (the Biblical Hamath), of which he had been for many years before his death the hereditary prince and ruler. A gallant soldier and a distinguished writer, Abulfeda appears not to have travelled very widely; hence for the materials embodied in his *Geography* he must have been in great measure dependent

[1] C. M. Fraehn, *op. cit.* pp. 582, 611.

on the works of his predecessors.[1] The description which he gives of the Khazar kingdom is clearly based, for the most part, on the accounts of Ibn Foszlan (Faḍlan) and Ibn Haukal. It runs as follows :

"The river Itil (Volga) traverses the country of the Russians and Bulgarians. The capital, also called Itil, is divided into two parts : the one is situated to the west of the river (on the right bank) and is the principal part ; the other lies to the east. The king (of the Khozars) inhabits the western part. This king is called in their language Belek ; he is also known as Bek.[2] This part is about a parasang long ; it is surrounded by a wall, but the wall is low. The houses of the inhabitants consist of tents made of felt ; only a small part is built of clay. The town includes market-places and baths. Mussulmans are to be found in it : the number of Mussulmans, they say, amounts to more than ten thousand ; they own about thirty mosques. The palace of the king is built at some distance from the river ; it is constructed of bricks. There is no other house of bricks in the town ; the king allows no man whatsoever the privilege (of building a brick house). The wall which surrounds the town is pierced by four gates, some of them facing towards the river and the others towards the country.

"The king of the Khozars is a Jew. He keeps near his person, they say, about four thousand men. Some of the Khozars are Mussulmans, others are Christians, a certain number are Jews ; there are also some who worship idols. The Jews form the smallest number ; the majority is composed of Mussulmans and Christians ; but the king and his retinue prefers Judaism. For the rest, the manners

[1] *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, ninth edition, i. (Edinburgh, 1875), pp. 60 *sq.* ; C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur*, ii. 44 *sq.*

[2] "Constantine Porphyrogenitus (*De administrando imperio*, part ii. cap. xlii.) employs the word πέχ ; it is evidently the common Turkish word *beg* or *bey*." (Reinaud's note.)

of the Khozars are in general the manners of the idolaters; when they salute each other, they bow the head in token of respect. The administration of the capital is based on ancient customs, contrary to the religion of the Mussulmans, the Jews, and the Christians. The army is composed of twelve thousand men; when one of these men dies, he is replaced by another. Their pay is small and scanty.

"The king's revenues arise from town dues and a tithe levied on merchandise on all the roads and every sea and river, in accordance with a system peculiar to the Khozars. He also obliges the inhabitants of the towns and country districts to furnish him with all the objects (in kind) which he needs.

"The king chooses nine judges among the Jews, Christians, Mussulmans, and idolaters. When a suit is brought, it is these men who judge it; the parties do not apply to the king, but to these men. When the judges are sitting, some one is charged with the duty of acting as intermediary between the king and the judges.

"The principal food of the Khozars consists of rice and fish.

"The merchants dwell by preference in the part of the city which is situated on the eastern bank. There, too, may be found persons who profess Islam, also there are commercial establishments. As for the western part, it is the special abode of the king, his retainers, his troops, and Khozars of distinction.

"The language of the Khozars differs from all others. . . .

"The Khozars do not resemble the Turks; they have black hair, and two sorts of them are distinguished. The one sort, called Caradjours, are brown, with a complexion so dark that it verges on black; you might take them for an Indian race: the other sort are white and perfectly beautiful. The Khozars who, in our country, are sunk in slavery, belong to the idolaters, who, unlike the Jews, the

Christians, and the Mussulmans, consider it lawful to sell their children and to sell each other.

"As to the government of the Khozars, the personage who occupies the first place bears the title of khakan of the Khozars; he ranks above the king of the Khozars; but it is from the latter that he receives his dignity. When they would appoint a khakan, they bring the person whom they have in view and draw a cord tightly round his neck; when he is on the point of choking, they say to him, 'How long do you wish to keep this dignity?' He answers, 'So many years.' If he dies before the fixed term, they trouble themselves no more about him; but if, when the time comes, he is not dead, they put him to death.

"The dignity of the khakan is reserved for persons of a certain birth. The khakan has no power to command or to forbid; only they have the greatest regard for him, and when they enter his presence, they bow the head. No one but the king may enter his house, and the king does not visit him except in extraordinary cases. When the king enters the presence of the khakan, he prostrates himself on the ground and adores him. Then he rises and waits for the khakan to allow him to approach. In critical circumstances it is customary for the khakan to come forth; but neither the Turks nor the other infidel nations of the country may see him; they are obliged to retire and avoid meeting him, out of respect for his rank. When the khakan is dead and buried, no one may pass before his tomb, except on foot and with bowed head; a rider may not remount his horse till the tomb is out of sight.

"One of the things which show the great respect of the Khozars for their king, is that sometimes the king desires the death of one of them, even one of the most powerful, and yet he does not wish to incur the responsibilty for his death. Thereupon he orders the person to kill himself, and the man, going home, puts an end to his life.

"The dignity of khakan is reserved for certain families,

which exert no authority or power. When a man has been chosen to bear this title, they install him without taking account of his former condition. None are raised to the dignity of khakan but persons who profess Judaism. The golden throne and pavilion, which are to be seen among the Khozars, are reserved for the khakan; on the march, the tents of the khakan are placed above those of the king; similarly in the towns, the mansion of the khakan is higher than the mansion of the king. . . .

"The language of the Bulgarians resembles that of the Khozars." [1]

From a comparison of these accounts we gather that the Khazars at the height of their power were governed by two kings, a sacred and nominally supreme king, and a civil and nominally subordinate king, and that all real power centred in the hands of the civil king, while the nominal sovereign was little more than a venerable puppet, who lived in almost absolute seclusion, seldom showing himself in public, remaining virtually invisible to the eyes of his subjects, and yet treated with marks of the most profound respect, if not of adoration, both in his lifetime and after his death. In this system of a double kingship, with its assignment of the shadow of power to one person and the substance of it to another, we trace those features of *rois fainéants* and Mayors of the Palace, which are familiar to us in Merovingian history.[2] The old line of hereditary monarchs had fallen into a political dotage, and were practically superseded by a succession of vigorous ministers, who were the real masters, while they professed

[1] Aboulféda, *Géographie, traduite de l'Arabe en Français*, par M. Reinaud (Paris, 1848), ii. Première Partie, pp. 301-305.

[2] Compare Klaproth, "Mémoire sur les Khazars," *Journal Asiatique*, iii. (Paris, 1823), p. 157: "*Il est donc à présumer que l'autorité des Khaghans d'origine turque s'était considérablement affaiblie dans les derniers tems de la monarchie khazare. Des espèces de* maires du palais, *après avoir usurpé le titre de roi, étaient devenus les véritables souverains du pays, et tenaient les Khaghans dans une dépendance absolue.*"

themselves the humble servants, of the feeble dotards on the throne. Yet in the most stringent of the limitations imposed on the nominal sovereigns we may detect a survival from a time when their ancestors were men of a stronger mould and a more masculine temper. We have seen that when a Khazar king reigned more than forty years, even by a single day, he was ruthlessly put to death, because his mental powers were supposed to be decayed and his wisdom impaired. The analogy of similar customs observed by many barbarous tribes suggests that the reason thus assigned by the Khazars for executing their kings after a fixed term of years was the true original motive. In ages of ignorance men have often believed, that the welfare of the state, and even the course of nature, are wholly dependent on the personal qualities of the king or chief who reigns over them, and that the decay of his bodily or mental powers must necessarily be accompanied or followed by a corresponding decay, not only in the commonwealth, but also in those natural resources on which mankind is dependent for their very existence. Accordingly subjects in those days took a very short way with superannuated sovereigns; they put them to death, and raised up in their stead men who were yet in the prime of life and the full possession of all their faculties. A tightening or a relaxation, as the case might be, of the rope thus tied round the king's neck was introduced by the provision, that he might reign till some public calamity, such as dearth, drought, or defeat in war, was thought to indicate that the dreaded enfeeblement of his majesty's powers had really set in; whereupon the constitutional remedy was at once resorted to, and the king was put to death.[1] Clearly the substitution of this rule might tend either to lengthen or to abridge the king's term of office according to his own natural abilities,

[1] Klaproth, "Mémoire sur l'identité des Thou khiu et des Hioung nou avec les Turcs," *Journal Asiatique*, viii. (Paris, 1825), p. 267. Compare W. Radloff, *Aus Sibirien* (Leipsic, 1884), i. 129.

the vigour of his constitution, and the state of the weather; for the inclemency of the seasons is imputed by many races to the defects of their ruler and is visited upon them accordingly.

In the accounts of the Khazar monarchy which I have quoted, certain discrepancies may be noted in regard to the constitutional check which regicide furnishes to the excesses or defects of kings. According to Ibn Foszlan, the king was regularly killed at the end of a reign of forty years; according to Ibn Haukal and Abulfeda, he was put to death at the close of a period which, on being raised to the throne, he had himself determined under circumstances not altogether favourable to mature reflexion; and according to Mas'údy, he suffered the extreme penalty of the law whenever drought or any other public misfortune had proved his unfitness to grasp the reins of power any longer. Which of these accounts is correct we have apparently no means of deciding, perhaps all of them were true at different times; for the Khazars may have allowed themselves a certain latitude in their application of the great principle of regicide, content with putting their effete kings out of the way, without rigidly observing a pedantic uniformity in the manner and time of taking them off.

The report which Ibn Haukal and Abulfeda give of the mode of determining the length of the king's reign finds a curious parallel, and perhaps a confirmation, in the account which Chinese historians give of the manner in which the Thou khiu, or Turks, settled how long a kakhan or prince should rule over them. "When they proclaimed a kakhan, the grandees carried him on a sheet of felt nine times in a circle, following the course of the sun; at each circuit he was saluted by everybody. On the completion of these circuits, they mounted him on horseback and threw round his neck a piece of taffeta, with which they pinched him so tight that he almost expired. Then they slackened

it and immediately asked him how long he expected to reign. The confusion of his mind did not allow him to answer the question exactly. Nevertheless they regarded his answer as a prediction of the length of his reign."

J. G. Frazer.

THE PROVENIENCE OF CERTAIN NEGRO FOLK-TALES.

I.

Playing Dead Twice[1] *in the Road.*

During the past year I have collected this tale among three separate Negro communities—among the American Negroes of North Carolina,[2] among the English Negroes of the Bahamas, and among the Portuguese Negroes of the Cape Verde Islands living in Massachusetts and Rhode Island. The North Carolina tale is as follows:

Ol' rabbit an' fox went afishin. Ol' rabbit he was lazy an' he wouldn't fish none, an' ol' fox kep' atellin' him he'd better fish. An' he started home an' ol' rabbit tol' him to give him some fish. An' de ol' fox said he wouldn't give him none to save his life. De ol' rabbit asked ol' fox if he see a heap of rabbits layin' in de road would he pick 'em up? An' he said not 'less he see a heap of 'em.[3]

[1] There is another and more familiar tale of playing dead *once* on the road, the tale of playing dead so as to be picked up by the carter and placed among his provisions. See Fortier, A., *Louisiana Folk-Tales*, p. 115; *Mem. Amer. Folk-Lore Soc.*, ii. (1895); and cp. Cosquin, E., *Contes Populaires de Lorraine*, ii. 159, 160. Paris. Superficially alike, the patterns of these two tales of playing dead on the road are quite dissimilar.

[2] See "Tales from Guilford County, North Carolina," *Jour. American Folk-Lore*, April-June, 1917.

[3] A rationalising effort, it seems to me. In a Georgia tale (XV. *Uncle Remus His Songs and His Sayings*) the effort takes another turn. Brer Fox says the rabbit has been dead too long.

Harris gives the shoe variant of this tale, too (XXII. *Uncle Remus and His Friends*).

He run round den an' got in de path ahead of him an' lay down like he was dead. Ol' fox he come on an' kicked him outside of de road. An' ol' rabbit ran 'roun again an' got in de road an' lay down like he was dead. An' ol' fox said, "Hum! I pick you up." He turned in den an' lay him on a log aside of his fish an' goes back an' gets de oder one. When he got back again ol' rabbit took his fish an' was gone.

Of this tale I collected three variants on Andros Island in the Bahamas. The variant I got first and, I may note, the prevailing Andros variant differs little from the Carolinian variant.[1]

Boukee an' b'o' Rabbit make up ter go fishin'. Dey went fishin'. B'o Boukee ketch all de small fish an' b'o' Rabbit ketch all de big one. An' when dey come asho' b'o' Boukee say, "Share de fish," an' b'o' Rabbit say, "No, you share them. I only want de small one an' you take de beeg one." B'o' Rabbit done string up, an' he went befo'. He played dead in de road. Boukee said, "If I meet another rabbit like dis I go back an' get dat rabbit; have two rabby an' a bunch of fish." B'o' Rabbit went befo' again an' played dead. B'o' Boukee said, "I'll go back an' get dat rabbit, an' I'll have two rabby an' a bunch of fish." An' he went an' he meet no rabbit yet. An' he come back, he meet no fish. So he went an' he cut off b'o' Rabbit an' he play dead. B'o' Rabbit said, "If I see anuder boukee like dis I'll go back an' get dat boukee an' I'll come back an' have two boukee an' a bunch of fish." B'o' Boukee went befo' an' play dead again. B'o' Rabbit said, "I'll go back and get dat boukee an' I'll cut dis one throat an' leave him to bleed till I come back." An' he went home. His wife ax him, "Where is de fish?" B'o' Rabbit tief (thieve) all de fish.

[1] Of interest in this connection is the fact that during the American Revolution many Carolinian Tories—United Empire Loyalists, they were called—migrated with their slave households to the Bahamas.

The only version I got of the second Andros Island variant was "spliced" into the tale of "In the Cow's belly." When Boukee jumps out of the cow and pretends the cleaners of the cow have thrown the maw over him, the hush money they give him are £20 and half the cow. "Boukee say, 'I got buy golden slippers fe me wife.' When he reach in de half way, he drop one of de slippers, an' he leave him in de road. B'o' Rabby gone an' pick up de slipper an' he ran t'rough de bush. B'o' Boukee put down his meat an' twenty poun' an' say, 'I got to go back fe de oder golden slipper.' Vwhen he reach back where he drop hees slipper, he foun' dat it was not dere. He started goin' home again. Vwhen he reach where he lef dis twenty poun' an' half of cow he foun' dat it was not dere. All dis time b'o' Rabby take dese t'ings an' gone home. Vwhen b'o' Boukee reach home hees wife say to him, 'You so crazy. It is b'o' Rabbit take dem same t'ings what you had.' An' de woman get arowin'."

The third Andros Island variant was written out and sent me by Rafalita Rolle of Mangrove Cay.

This was a man had three son, one name Tom and the other name Dick, one name Jack. His father ask them what trade they want. Tom say he want a shoe maker. He said, "Go." Dick said he want to be a minister. He said, "Go." Jack said he wanted to be a tief. He said that's what he want. He gave Jack ten dollars to go in the market to buy half a cow. Jack went in the market and call for the half of cow. Wiles' the man was cutting the cow, slip round to counter and took out ten dollars and mark ten on it and put it back. And mark ten on his one and put it back in his pocket and took the meat and start. The man call him back and ask him for the money. Jack said, "Man, I pay you." He said, "No, you aint pay me." Jack start to cry and said he going home to tell his father. He said he is going to put Jack in jail. Jack said, "I had twenty dollars all mark

ten and if I aint got all you get your ten." And he said, "If I got any in here mark ten you pay me." And when he look he find the ten dollars and Jack said, "If you don't pay I will report you." And man get scared and pay Jack one hundred poun.' And Jack carry it home. And his father told the king he got a boy will tief his life. And next day he buy one pair of gold slippers and send out Jack. One man was passing with a cart full of money. Jack put one the slipper in the road and hid. The man said, "What a pretty slipper!" He pass it an' Jack come out the bush and pick it up and run another road an' put it in the road and hide. The man said, "What a pretty slipper!" He jump down and he said he goin' back for the other one. When he was out of sight Jack run and take all the things and carried it home to his father.

It happened that the foregoing variant reached me when I was engaged in collecting tales which had already thrown light on my Bahama collection at large, tales from the Cape Verde Islands. It happened too that I had just heard the following Cape Verde Islands tale of

The Master Thief.[1]

José goes to a school of thieves. Within thirty days he knows more than the master. One day the master sends one of the best boys out to steal, for they had nothing to eat. The boy returned without anything. José said, "You better send me." "No, you don't know enough," said the master. They saw a man coming on the road with an ox on a rope. "I'm going to take that ox away from that man," said José. "If you are able to take that ox away from that man," said the master, "you'll

[1] I omit the introduction. I omit, too, the continuation which consists of variations upon the pattern. I may say that the pattern in general of being robbed of property you leave to go and look for other things is well established in both the Cape Verde Islands and the Bahamas.

prove to me you know all you need know." José went out, he took with him a silver shoe. He went ahead of the man with the ox, he threw the shoe in the road, he hid. The man saw the shoe. "Oh, what a pretty shoe," he said. "If it was a pair I'd take them to my daughter. (His daughter was getting married, he was taking the ox for the feast.) But I can't do anything with one shoe." José ran on ahead again, he dropped the shoe in the road. "Now there's a pair," said the man. "I'll tie my ox here, I'll go back to find the other shoe. I'll have a pair of pretty shoes for my daughter." José cut the rope tying the ox, he took the ox to his master. His master gave him his diploma.[1]

When the owner of the ox came back and found the ox gone, he thought the ox had chewed up the rope. "The ox has run off," he said, "I'll get my big, fat sheep." José covered himself with the hide of the ox and fixed its horns on his head. He went down into a ravine where the man was coming with his sheep. There he lowed like an ox. "That's my ox," said the man. "You think you've escaped, do you? I'm going to tie my sheep and go and catch you." As the man passed through a grove of *pulgeira*, José came around and took the sheep.

The Norse tale of the Master Thief collected by Dasent [2] and the Scotch tale collected by Campbell [3] contain close parallels to this Cape Verde Islands tale. In the Norse tale the youth drops a pretty shoe with a silver buckle in the road. When the man with the ox sees the shoe a

[1] In another version when the owner of the ox goes home with only one shoe he tells his wife about the mishap. He was bringing her the shoes. "It was all on your account," he added. "Fool!" said she.

[2] *Popular Tales from the Norse*, p. 234-7. New York and Edinburgh. Other European variants have been recorded. See Köhler, R., in *Orient and Occident*, ii. (1864), 313; Schiefner, A., in *Mélanges Asiatiques*, *Bull. de l'Académie de St. Pétersbourg*, vi. (1869-73), 181.

[3] *Popular Tales of the West Highlands*, xvii. d. London, 1890.

second time he ties his ox and returns for the shoes to take the pair to his unamiable wife. To steal from the man his second ox the youth hangs himself to a tree thrice in succession.[1] To determine whether or not it is witchcraft or actually three suicides the man ties up the ox and goes back to look for the other two hanging figures. To steal the third ox, the youth lures the man away by bellowing like an ox.

In the Scotch tale, Shifty Lad drops his own shoe in the way of the herd who was bringing a wether for a wedding. Subsequently, by ba-aing like the wether Shifty Lad purloins a kid, and after that, by bleating like a kid, a stot.[2]

Plainly the tale is European [3] and a Portuguese variant must be inferred to be the origin of the Cape Verde Islands tale. That the tale was carried to the Southern States and to the Bahamas by Negroes from the African West Coast where it had been learned from Portuguese I have little or no doubt.[4] The only variants I have found besides those already noted may well have been borrowed also from the Portuguese. The following Amazonian Indian tale is close to the Carolinian variant and to one of the Bahama variants.

[1] Cp. Cosquin, ii. 276. Before this incident I had studying mistakenly concluded that the "playing dead" variant in the negro tales was a derivation of the "shoe" variant. It is plainly a variant of the man who hangs himself or who stands on his head (Cosquin, ii. 273, 276).

[2] Campbell, i. 235-7.

[3] The source of the European Master Thief cycle I need not inquire into, but I note that in the Master Thief tale of Bengal the incident of the shoe in the road is given. Two gold-lace covered shoes are dropped in the road by the elder thief. The younger thief picks up the second and ties his cow to return for the first (Lal Behari Day, *Folk-Tales of Bengal*, pp. 158-9. London, 1912).

[4] That the tale spread from the French in Louisiana is a tenable hypothesis, although, as far as I know, no French variant of the shoe pattern has been recorded. It is not only tenable, but improbable, that the third Andros Island variant was learned from Scotch sources in the Bahamas.

After some days the cotia became very thirsty. . . . Just then an old man [*a black man* . . . (mine the italics)] came along with a jar on his head. "I will see if I can get some water from that jar," thought the cotia. He ran ahead of the man, and lay down in the path. Presently the man came up. "Hullo!" said he, "here is a dead cotia!" and he shoved the animal to one side with his foot, and went on. As soon as he was out of sight, the cotia jumped up, and ran on through the woods until he was in front of the man again; then he lay down in the path, as before. "Hullo!" said the man coming up, "here's another dead cotia!" and he kicked the animal out of his path. Again the cotia ran ahead of the man, and lay down in the path. "Hullo!" said the man, "this makes three dead cotias that I have seen; now if I see another one I will go back and get them all." Once more the cotia repeated his trick. "Hullo!" said the man, "here's another dead cotia! Now I will go back and get the others, and carry all four home." With that, he put down his jar, and went to look for the other dead cotias. As soon as he was gone, the cotia jumped up and thrust his head into the jar.[1]

There is an analogous Soudanese tale of a man carrying a basket of fowls to market who is fooled by a fox.[2] This tale was collected in a country where there was a lively traffic in slaves. That the tale may have travelled here from the Portuguese West Coast appears not at all improbable. The cycle of the Master Thief is known on the West Coast. Lederbogen recorded it among the Dvala of the Cameroons.[3] In the Dvala tale, however, although the cattle stealing incident is given the playing dead pattern is entirely lost. ELSIE CLEWS PARSONS.

[1] Smith, H. H., *Brazil*, p. 552. New York, 1879. Also p. 555.

[2] Klunziger, C. B., *Upper Egypt*, p. 401. New York, 1878.

[3] *Jour. African Soc.* xiii. (Oct., 1904), p. 64.

CLASSIFIED CATALOGUE OF BRAND MATERIAL.

(*Continued from* p. 304.)

CHRISTMASTIDE—DECEMBER 24TH–JANUARY 12TH.

ENGLAND.

I. NAMES.

	LOCALITY.
Yule (more frequently used in compounds, as Yule-log, Yule-cake, than alone) - - - - -	Northumbd., Durham, Westmd., Cumbd., Yorkshire, Lancs., Derbyshire, Notts., Lincs.
Christmas (literary English) -	Midlands and South.
"The" Christmas (provincial) -	Ditto (occasionally).

II. NATURAL PHENOMENA.

(*a*) *Weather Omens.*

The Twelve Days of Christmastide prognosticate the twelve months' weather -	G. Markham, 1614. T. Willsford, 1658. Aubrey, 1689.
Day of week on which Christmas Day falls prognosticates year's weather (each day signifies different conditions) - - - - -	15th cent. North Country, Welsh Border (Oswestry), Devon.
Christmas moon waxing foretells good year; waning, a bad one - - -	Markham, 1614.

	LOCALITY.
A (moon)light Christmas, a light harvest	Lincs., Norfolk.
A dark Christmas, a heavy harvest [1]	Hunts.
If Christmas Day [2] be bright and clear there'll be two winters in the year	Herefordshire.
A green Christmas makes a fat churchyard [3]	Suffolk, Devon, and General.
If the ice will bear a goose [4] before Christmas, it will not bear a duck after it	North Country, Norfolk, Cheshire.
Thunder in December foretells fine weather	"In some parts."
Thunder at Christmas, hard winter, fruitful year later	Cheshire.
A windy Christmas, a good year	North Country.
A windy Christmas Day, a good crop of fruit	Herefordshire.
Sunshine on (or through) the apple-tree branches betokens a good crop of apples	Lincs., Norf., [5] Northants, Derbyshire, Staffs., Salop, Herefordshire, Devon, Berks.
Sunshine on Christmas morning forebodes accidents by fire	Herefordshire, Worc.
"Hours of sun on Christmas Day, so many frosts in month of May"	Devon.

(*b*) *Plants.*

Rosemary blooms at midnight on Christmas Eve	Berks., Glos. (Dean Forest, 1822, St. Briavels).

[1] A *light* Christmas, a heavy sheaf (North Country).

[2] Ember Day (Cheshire).

[3] "Yule" and "kirkyard" (North Country).

[4] "man" (Notts.); "horse" (Norfolk).

[5] *Old* Christmas Day (Norfolk).

	LOCALITY.
Myrtle blooms at midnight on Christmas Eve - -	? Hants.
(*c*) *Insects.*	
Bees sing in their hives at midnight on Christmas Eve	Northumbd. (Earsdon), Cumbd. (Whitbeck), Staffs. (Standon), Worc. (Alvechurch), Wilts.
Bees sing the 100th Psalm -	Lancs., Westmd.
(*d*) *Animals.*	
Sheep call "Bethlehem" -	Cheshire, Staffs.
Cattle stand up and low -	Berks.
Cattle kneel - - -	Cumbd. (Whitbeck), Lancs., Worc. (Droitwich), Glos. (Dean Forest, 1822, St. Briavels), Somerset, Northants, S.W. Wilts., Hants.
Cattle and horses kneel -	Norfolk (Tostead).
Dangerous to enter cowhouses lest one should see them kneeling - - - -	Cheshire, Staffs.
All animals eat, drink, and talk	Oxon. (Kinsham, 150 years since).
Cocks crow all night to scare ghosts - - - -	Cheshire (Didsbury).
If a dog howls, he will go mad during the year - -	(Mr. S. O. Addy.)
If you whet a scythe in a field on Christmas Day all the moles within hearing will depart - - - - -	(Locality ?).
(*e*) *Human Beings.*	
Children born at midnight on Christmas Eve can see spirits	Lincs.
Children born on Christmas Day can see spirits - -	North Lincs., Sussex.
Children born on Christmas Day cannot see spirits -	(Denham, ii. 76, quoting Grose.)
"A child born on Christmas Day is fair and wise and good and gay" - -	Devon.

(*f*) *Uncanny Sights and Sounds.*	LOCALITY.
"Spriggans" (underground elves) heard singing - -	Cornwall.
Subterranean bells heard -	Lancs. (Preston), Grimston, Raleigh (?).
King Arthur and his knights drink at spring - -	Somerset (Cadbury).
Lady in white with rose in mouth appears at dawn -	Cornwall (Pendeen).
Ghost in form of fish appears to people fetching water -	Derbysh. (Bradwell).
Coach with headless horses drives through town *just before* Christmas - -	Cornwall (Penryn).
Ghosts become more powerful as nights lengthen - -	*Ibid.*
"Many object to be left alone on Christmas Eve" - -	South Yorksh.
Unlucky to walk near cross-roads on Christmas morning	Locality ?
Ghosts do not appear at Christmas (Shakespeare) -	Didsbury.
A death at Christmas portends many during year - -	? Locality.
Midnight on Christmas Eve is a suitable time for using divination - - - -	See below.

III. OBSERVANCES.

(*a*) *Divinatory Rites* (used at midnight on Christmas Eve to see future husband).	
Onion laid on altar (details not given) - - -	Burton's *Anatomy*.
Walking backwards round a pear-tree - - - -	South Yorksh.
Plucking sage-leaves - -	Northants.
Sowing hempseed - -	Northants., Oxon.
Baking dumb-cake - -	Northants, Oxon., Chesh.
Eating salted egg - -	Northants.
Roasting pigeon's heart -	Northants.
Holly leaves and pails of water (*ante*, see p. 71) - -	Borders.
Washing shift, hanging to dry	Suffolk.

	LOCALITY.
Hanging sheet over chair, finding tool or weapon leaning against it in morning	South Yorksh.
Tapping on henhouse door, auguring marriage or single life from cock or hen cackling - - - -	Devon.
To see persons doomed to die, watch at church door -	North Yorksh.[1]

(*b*) *Precautionary Practices.*

Crosses chalked at street-ends, straws crossed over doors, to keep out witches and evil spirits (obs.) -	Staffs. (Bilston).
Some new garment worn, lest birds should spoil clothes -	Worc. (Alvechurch).[2]

(*c*) *Things Forbidden, or Unlucky, during Christmastide.*

To plough, or work horses -	Salop.
To spin (the distaff was often dressed with flowers) -	Salop.
To keep suds or " buck-lee " (washing liquor) in the house	Salop.
To keep wet ashes (the material for washing-ley) in the house - - -	Worc.
To take new shoes, or untanned leather into the house - - - -	Herefordshire, Worc.
To give fire or light out of the house - - - -	Whitby, Filey.[3]
To throw out ashes, or sweep out dust - - - -	Whitby, Filey, Salop.
To " give, borrow, or strike " a light - - - -	Salop.
To permit a squinting, or bare-footed person, or above all a flat-footed woman, to enter the house while the Christmas log is burning -	Cheshire.[4]

[1] Cf. Fire Customs, First Foot, etc.

[2] Cf. Easter.

[3] See Fire Customs.

[4] " Anon." in *Cheshire N. and Q.*, 1884, p. 181.

	LOCALITY.
To send away mummers or wassailers unrewarded on Christmas Eve	West Riding.
To permit a woman to be the first comer to the house on Christmas morning	North Country.[1]
To turn a feather-bed or mattress; it will change the "luck"	Norfolk.
It will cause the death of the occupant of the bed	South Yorksh. ?
To do any work on Christmas Day	(Locality ?)
To marry on that day	Yorksh.[2]
Three weddings on Christmas Day will cause a death within the year	Suffolk.
To sit down an odd number at Christmas dinner or supper	North Riding.

(*d*) *Christmas Evergreens.*

Houses and churches adorned with evergreens	General.
Evergreens called "Christmas"	Lancs., Cheshire, Salop, Somerset, Hants, etc.
Put up on Christmas Eve, or early Christmas Day	General.
Unlucky to take them into house sooner	Staffs., Salop, Herefsh., Glos., Devon, Rutland, etc.
Unlucky in bedchambers	Lincs. (nr. Grantham).
Stuck in window-panes	General.
Churches "stuck" with boughs of holly and ivy set in small holes bored in pews. Prob. obsolete	General: *e.g.* Yorksh., Lincs. (nr. Grantham), Derbysh. (Castleton), Staffs. (Norbury), Salop (Edgmond), S.W. Wilts.

[1] See First Foot.

[2] Ecclesiastically prohibited, Advent to Hilary term.

	LOCALITY.
Holly. Only "free" (smooth) holly used in house -	Salop (Burford).
If smooth holly used or brought in first, wife rules; if rough, husband	Locality ?
To be lucky, use rough, smooth, and variegated. White patches on var. holly caused by Virgin's milk spilt on holly brought by shepherds - -	Derbysh.
Smooth holly, ivy, and mistletoe hung behind shippon door before noon on Christmas Day prevents cows miscarrying -	Derbysh. (Hazelwood).
Holly masculine, ivy feminine (see Shrove Tuesday) - - - -	Kent, Salop.
Ivy. Man must supply maid with ivy or she would steal his breeches (Aubrey) - - -	Oxon. (Launton).
Ivy alone, or predominating, a bad omen - -	Northants.
Yew. Used if not cut from churchyard - - -	Derbysh., Northants.
Unlucky, portends death during year - - -	East Anglia.
Box. Used when procurable Used in "kissing-bush" -	Derbysh., Northants. (See below.)
Rosemary. (Obs.). Houses dressed with - -	(Aubrey, 1686.)
Bays. (Obs.) Churches dressed with - -	London (St. Peter Cheap, 1572, 1599), Worcester (St. Michael's, St. Nicholas, 16th and 17th cent.).
Laurel. Used in South of England, esp. Universities, including college chapels; not in North -	Bourne, 1725.
Holly, box, fir, and laurel, in houses, 1878 - -	Lincs. (nr. Grantham).

Mistletoe.	LOCALITY.
Not used in churches	General.
Isolated cases of use in church	Staffs. (Bilston, 1672, Darlaston, 1707).
hung from chancel arch	London, 1792 (*Gent. Mag*
blessed on altar	Wolverhampton (date ?).
Houses unlucky without it	Worc.
Must be gathered by newest man-servant	Worc.
Unlucky if dropt or falls	Worc.
If brought in too soon, causes death in family	Salop.
Should be hung up New Year, not Christmas	Herefordsh., Salop.[1]
Suspended from "kissing-bush"	(See below.)
Not taken down till next year	General.
Conveys kissing privileges	Everywhere.
Girl kissed under it plucks berry	Warw., Worc., Salop.
Protects house from witches or evil spirits	Worc.
Carried as amulet against witchcraft	South Staffs.
Given in broth to "bewitched" pig	Worc.
Exported to other counties	Worcester (Christmas Market).
The "Christmas Bush" or "Kissing Bush"	General.
Called also Christmas Bough or Kissing Bough	Lincs.
Called also Christmas Bunch or "Kissing Bunch"	Cornwall.
Frame of crossed hoops, covered with evergreen	General.
Or beehive-shaped hoops	Lincs., Derbysh. (1850).
Ornamented with nutshells threaded on box, apples gilded or stuck with oats, oranges, etc., sometimes ribbons and paper flowers	Northumbd., Yorksh., Lincs., etc., Cornwall.

[1] See New Year's Day.

	LOCALITY.
Small dolls put in it -	Lincs. (Bottesford).
Lighted up with candles -	Lincs. (Bottesford, Epworth), Cheshire, Cornwall.
Hung from centre of ceiling, mistletoe suspended from it - - - -	General.
Used without mistletoe before introduction of railways and carried kissing privileges - -	Cleveland, Lincs., South Notts., Cheshire.
Mistletoe bough itself bedecked - - -	Worc.
Bunch of furze stuck with floured berries used -	Devon (Hartland), Cornwall.
Evergreens taken down.	
Mistletoe left hanging till next year.	
Frame of Christmas Bunch kept for luck - -	Derbysh. (1850).
Holly and ivy, etc., taken down Twelfth, or " Old Christmas " Day - -	Cheshire, Sheffield, East Cornwall, London.
Holly and ivy, etc., taken down Candlemas Eve	Salop, Herefsh., Devon.
Holly and ivy, etc., taken down Shrove Tuesday	Lancs. (?).
Holly and ivy, etc., taken down Good Friday -	Yorksh. (*Gent. Mag.* (1811).
Must be burnt - - -	Salop (Little Wenlock), Herefordshire, Worc.
Burnt in fire that fries pancakes - - - -	Lancs. (?).
Unlucky to burn them -	Lincs., Cheshire, Staffs. (Needwood, Tutbury), East Cornwall.
Must be thrown away -	Cheshire, Staffs. (Tutbury).
Some kept all the year as safeguard against lightning - - - -	Needwood.

	LOCALITY.
Kept as safeguard against evil spirits	Cornwall (some parts).
A ghost seen for every leaf left	Cornwall (some parts).
To throw them away will cause a death	Cornwall.
Given to the milch cows	Salop (Edgmond).

(*e*) *Fire and Light.*

No fire must be *struck, given, or borrowed*, during Christmastide	Yorks., Cheshire, Salop, Herefordshire.
Light taken out of house between Christmas and New Year causes death in family	North Riding, Derby, Staffs.[1] (Stone).
Hearth fire not allowed to go out during night of Christmas Eve	North Country.
Log burnt on hearth-fire.	
Called Yule log, clog, or block	Northumbd., Yorks., Lancs., Lincs., Notts., Derby.
Called Christmas Brand, Brund, Bron, Braund, or Brawn	Salop, Worcestersh., Somerset, Dorset, Devon, Cornwall.
Called Christmas Block	Lincs., Derby, Northants, Essex.
Called Christmas Block, Stock or Mock[2]	Cornwall.
Claimed as "estovers" (fuel) by tenants of manors	Essex (17th cent., Hainault Forest).
Presented by lord of manor	Northumbd. (Belford).
Presented by carpenters', joiners' or "wrights'" to customers	Northumbd. (Rothbury), N. Yorks. (Cleveland, Whitby), E. Yorks

[1] Between Christmas and Candlemas.

[2] "Mock" in allusion to practice of depicting human figure on it?

Brought in on Christmas Eve " with some ceremony."	LOCALITY.
After dusk	Swaledale.
Drawn by horses	Salop (The Vessons, *c.* 1830; Corve-Dale, 1860).
Drawn by oxen	Herefordshire.
Drawn by men with ropes	South Salop.
Christmas ale or cider broached	General.
Lighted from relic of last year's brand	Usually but not invariably.
Before kindling, all present surrounded log and sang " Yule, Yule, a pack of cards and a Christmas stool "	West Riding, 17th cent.
Each sings Yule song, (*i.e.* carol) standing on centre of log	North Country, 1821.
Each sits on it and wishes three wishes	Holderness.
Carols sung	Salop.
Burnt on church tower, *circa* 1840	Hants. (St. Mary Bourne).
Taboos, privileges, etc., while log burning.	
Must not be stirred	Filey.
Must not be extinguished	Swaledale.
Unlucky if it goes out prematurely	Swaledale.
Good omen for the year if it burns out its time, evil otherwise	Lancs. (The Fylde).
Unlucky if squinting or barefooted person enter while it burns	North Country.
Most unlucky if flatfooted woman enter	North Country.
Figure of man chalked on it	Cornwall.
Servants allowed strong ale while it lasted	Northumbd. (Grose's *Prov. Gloss.*).

	LOCALITY.
Servants allowed best cider while it lasted - -	Norfolk (Mulbarton).
Family and servants took meals together - -	Norfolk.
Sports.	
Dancing round the fire in hall - - - - -	Inns of Court, 1740.
"Leaping over a Christmas Eve bonefire" - -	Chester (Randle Holme, 1627-99).
Kept alight.[1]	
Till Twelfth Day - -	Salop.
All the week - - -	Lincs. (1773).
Part kept for New Year's Eve	Lincs. (modern).
A little burnt every night till New Year - -	Notts.
All night and next day -	Northumbd., Lancs. (The Fylde).
All night; any left, relighted Old Christmas Eve - - - - -	Yorks. (Richmond, Penistone).
All night - - - -	Derby, Staffs. (Cheadle), Northants, Worcest., Cornwall.
Remnant preserved to light next year's log - -	General.
Also to preserve house from fire - - - -	Whitby, Northants., Cornwall.
To preserve house from other harm - - -	Northumberland.
To preserve house from "fire and lightning" -	Herefordshire.
"To keep the witch away"	South Yorks. (Penistone), Notts.
For luck - - - - -	Derby, Herefordshire.
Kept under bed - -	North Country, Whitby.
Kept in cellar - - -	Northants., 1850.
Ashes kept underneath milk-bench - - -	South Yorks. (Penistone).
Bit thrown into burning house will check fire -	North Country (Denham)

[1] The change from open hearths to grates would naturally affect both the size of the log and the time it would be kept burning.

	LOCALITY.
Bit thrown into fire will quell raging storm -	Whitby.
The "Ashen Faggot" of small branches encircling a larger one or sometimes a tree-trunk, bound with 3, 9, or more "binds" of hazel, bramble, or withy, or of ash itself, burnt instead of log -	Devon ("some parts") and Somerset.[1]
Cut by farm-labourers, presented by woodmen, or (Exeter) purchased of greengrocer.	
A *whole* main branch of tree used; green wood, to burn longer - -	Exeter, Kingsbridge.
Bad luck to omit faggot. Object, to burn up bogies, which fly up chimney -	Bampton.
Brought in by four oxen, though one would have sufficed - - -	Torwood Manor House, Torquay, 1836.
Sometimes laid on fire; sometimes head of house proceeds through lines of servants and lights faggot with length of tow -	Somerset.
All who helped in harvest invited to join party -	Authority ?
Distinctions of rank discarded while faggot burns	Ashburton.
Quart of cider "craved" at bursting of each "bind" - - -	General.
Young people choose "binds"; order of breakage denotes order of marriage - - -	General.

[1] Localities noted: Torquay, Kingsbridge, Ashburton, Exeter (Cleve), Dartmoor, Torrington, Bampton and Dolton in North Devon. More information is needed as to the several areas and the local circumstances affecting them.

	LOCALITY.
First on whom spark falls, first to be married -	Dartmoor.
Youngest child stands on burning faggot, character augured from his demeanour - - -	Ashburton.
Rivalry to remove heated chains with naked hand	Ditto.
Kept burning twelve days	Ashburton (1878).
Last fragment placed in milch-cows' stall, to protect from harm or disaster - - - - -	Somerset.
Legends. The Infant Christ washed and dressed by fire of ashwood - -	Devon.
When Christ hid from foes, oak and ash betrayed Him, condemned to lose leaves in winter; holly, ivy, and pine concealed Him, so remain green -	Gypsies.
Special Candle or Candles lighted on Christmas Eve.	
One tall mould candle, called "Yule Candle" or "Christmas Candle" presented by grocer, burnt *at supper* - -	Northumbd., Cumbd., Yorkshire, Lincs., Derbysh.
Two candles, coloured -	Yorkshire, (Swaledale, Richmond).
Two candles lighted at reeve's annual feast; ale free while they lasted -	Somerset (North Curry).
Unlucky to light Yule candles too soon - -	Cleveland, Filey fishers, etc.
Lights put out, youngest present lights Yule candles from Yule log; all *wish* silently; silence not broken till candles on table. No other light	

	LOCALITY.
lighted; and candles must burn themselves out - - - -	Swaledale.
Unlucky to snuff Yule candle, move candlestick, or leave table till candles burnt out -	Northumbd., Yorks.
Piece of Yule candle saved for luck - - -	Whitby.
Candle left burning all night, otherwise a death in house - - - -	Derbysh. ?
Candle left burning in lead-mine for "owd mon" -	Castleton (Derbysh.).
Lighted candles fixed in clay in last "corf" or basket of coal sent up from the pit before the holidays -	Northumberland.
Lighted candles fixed in clay on circular platform, a large one in centre, carried about by collier lads - - -	Salop (Oswestry).
Children dance round painted lighted candles in box or basket of sand; girls and boys separately -	Cornwall (Penrith).
Church towers lighted up -	Cornwall (Zennor, etc.).
Two candelabra lighted in afternoons - - -	Manchester Cathedral.
Cathedral a blaze of light, Sunday before Christmas	Ripon Cathedral.

(*f*) *First Foot on Christmas Morning.*

First Foot observed on Christmas Day as well as New Year's Day -	Yorks., Lancs., Derbysh., Herefordshire.
Called "Lucky Bird" -	Yorkshire, (Swaledale, Aislaby, Pickering).
Woman unlucky first foot -	General.
If woman leaves house on Christmas Eve must return before midnight -	South Yorksh.

	LOCALITY.
Woman must not *enter* house at all on Christmas Day, but sleep there overnight - - -	East Yorksh., Derbysh., Hereford.
Nor may she receive gifts	East Riding.
Door locked to prevent women entering - -	West Yorksh.
Dark-haired man or boy lucky - - - -	North Riding, Swaledale, and General.
Light or red hair unlucky -	North Derbysh., Sheffield, Huddersfield, Flamboro'.
Permissible on emergency -	West Yorksh.[1]
Unlucky to be first wished merry Christmas by fair man - - - -	East Riding.
First Foot usually prearranged; if not, first who brings evergreen admitted - -	East and West Ridings.
Nothing brought in (unlike New Year) - - -	Swaledale.
Lucky Bird rewarded with coin (to ensure luck), food (usually Yule-cake and cheese), and drink (usually mead or sweet wine) - - - -	Pickering, Whitby, East Riding.
Questions asked and answered; "bread, salt, and groat" given -	East Riding.
First Foot enters by front door, leaves by back -	North Derbysh., Sheffield, Huddersfield, Oswestry,[2] Herefordsh.
No one may leave house before First Foot enters	Filey.

[1] The authorities as to the "luck" of dark or light hair in the East and West Ridings are somewhat confused and contradictory. First-hand evidence from correspondents is greatly desired.

[2] Must enter every room in house.

	LOCALITY.
When Christmas has been let in, family go out *unwashed* and return carrying evergreens -	East Riding.
Little boys run about shouting Christmas greetings and receive gifts - -	Whitby, Salop.
They sing rhymes, for gifts	Sheffield, Lancashire.
Lucky to "let in Christmas," *i.e.* to be the first to open the house-door (from within) and say, "Welcome, Christmas." (No Lucky Bird enters.) -	West Sussex.

ERRATUM, p. 303, l. 4. *For* Dorset, *read* Devon.

C. S. BURNE.

(To be continued.)

COLLECTANEA.

A Study in the Legends of the Connacht Coast, Ireland.

Part II.

(*Continued from* Vol. XXVIII., p. 180 *et sqq.*)

Mediæval and Later Events.

The Danes.—It is surprising and disappointing to find in so many places in Ireland, after so rich a mass of folk-tales relating to heroes and saints, a barren tract in which rarely a stunted version of some later historic event is found by careful seekers. Who that has read *The Wars of the Gaedhil with the Gaill* would fancy that the devastations of the Danes could hardly be found to have left a trace in modern stories? The names of the Norse (Lochlannach) and Danes are widely known. The curious green tracks on the heathery flanks of Slievemore on Achill, between the carns and dolmens are "Danes' tracks," "Danes' Ditches," "An cloidhe Lochlannach," and such-like names. Souterrains in certain earthworks near Killala and sea caves, notably one on the Mullet at Broadhaven, are "Danes' Cellars," or (as Otway gives it) "Cellair na Lochlannach."[1] They were reputedly the places where the Danes hid their treasures, whence the name and legend of "Victory" near Killala. The Danish origin of certain forts near the last was strongly asserted—"the Danes were mighty strong in Ireland when they put together this place (rath) who else could do them?" said one peasant to Otway, and the man went on to tell how a Danish ship came from Norway and he saw a man aboard

[1] Sketches in *Erris and Tyrawly*, p. 71.

(who said he was a Danish gentleman) come to the fort with an old parchment to look round and mark on the map all the places in the country that belonged to his forefathers and that by right the fort was his.[1] I fear many jest-lovers have too often spread such uncomfortable shocks to tenant purchasers, often putting hindrance in the way of antiquarian workers. Even recently a tale of a grant by the Kaiser produced a "scare" in a certain district in Munster. At Downpatrick Head (as I have told already)[2] another man from a Danish ship is said to have flown a kite over the isolated fort of Dunbriste and by drawing a rope up secured all the treasure of Geodruisge the Dane.

On Inishturk the legend told of the *Dún*[3] (a long oval ring-wall of massive blocks over the cup-like little harbour) relates how the Danish pirates were the last persons in Ireland who had the secret of making the *Bior* Lochlannach, or Danes' Beer, the most delicious of all drinks, from the heather bloom. The foreigners lived in security on the steep knoll (mooring their galleys in the land-locked Portadoon, concealed from the sea), and from their loftier outlook they marked down the passing ship and darted out on it unexpectedly, leaving no one to betray its doom. At last the Irish discovered the fatal lair and surprised the *Dún*, slaying all, save an old Dane and his son. They offered them quarter if they told how to make the "Beer," or (as I heard more recently) showed them the hiding place of their treasure, the vast accumulation of many years. The older warrior, fearing the boy's constancy might yield to torture, promised to tell if they killed the boy before he knew of his father's treachery. It was done, and the Dane, tearing himself from his unsuspecting guards, fled, hurling back insults on his captors, to the deep and precipitous chasm beyond Portadoon, and, hurling himself over the cliff, carried his secret

[1] Sketches in *Erris and Tyrawly*, p. 189.

[2] *Journal Roy. Soc. Antiqq. Ireland*, vol. xlii. p. 106; *Folk-Lore*, vol. xxvii. p. 225.

[3] "Clare Island Survey," *Proc. R.I. Acad.* vol. xxxi. part 2, pp. 47-49. Dr. Browne heard of a more recent treasure find (*Proc. R.I. Acad.* vol. xxvii. p. 219.

to the gods.[1] This story in various forms occurs inland in Connacht and West Munster. My kind informant, Mr. Tim Toole, "Austin,"[2] the nearest resident to the *Dún*, also told me, in 1911, that his grand-uncle, a hundred years ago, found a vessel with lumps of gold at the foot of the knoll, directly below the gateway of the fort. He sold it for £40 and was told later on that it was "worth thousands." It should be remarked that ingots of pure gold formed part of the great Bronze Age treasure found below Moghane Fort, near Quin, in Co. Clare,[3] when the railway was being cut near Moghane Lake.

At Ballyteige Churchyard, near Newport, Co. Mayo, legend says "Hosty Meyrick, the last of the Danes," was buried. The O'Malleys cut off his head on the gunwale of his boat, after slaying his brother, who was riding from Co. Galway to see Hosty.[4]

Pirates.—There are a number of undated and unidentified personages, like "Guarim" and "Bosco," in Inishbofin (by some said to be Danes, while others say Bosco was an ally of Grainne Uaile) and "the Pope's brother." The latter was wrecked on a rock on the east shore of Cliara (or Clare Island) and killed by a weaver with his beam, bringing a curse, still in full efficiency, on the island. This was as told by E. O'Maille to Dr. Charles R. Browne, a variant called the victim "brother of the Emperor of Rome." It is based on the fear of a drowning man escaping, or being saved, from the sea, which is far from extinct, even in this century (in Galway Bay, at least) as I shall show in treating of the folk-lore. Another informant pointed out the rock at the north point of the bay at the O'Maille's castle as having been formerly the end of a long headland. One stormy day a ship was lost and only one man escaped. As he clambered up the rock a weaver seized a heavy club and ran to know who he was. The foreigner could not

[1] *Proc. R.I. Acad.* ser. iii. vol. iv. p. 66.

[2] The usage of adding the name of one's father or mother for distinction where persons of the same name are numerous prevails in Connacht and Co. Clare, along with the "serious use of nicknames."

[3] *Journal Roy. Soc. Antt. Ir.* vol. xlvii. p. 28.

[4] Legend told by Mr. Hubert T. Knox and Mr. P. Lyon, 1916.

reply intelligibly and the islander struck him with all his strength on the forehead, laying him dead. When the Pope got to know of it (how, I was not told) he cursed Clare Island and all its people and no attempt to benefit them has ever since been of any use. The improvements of the Congested Districts Board are regarded by local pessimists as misguided kindness, certain to end in failure on this account, no success of the islanders being ever more than temporary. In Achill "four tyrants, Henry, Púca, Coman and Cuimin, broke the stone cross of St. Colman's killeen." [1] Was Henry the bluff Tudor destroyer of monasteries? The Púca is at times an *alias* for Satan himself in the islands and elsewhere.

Lynott and Barrett.—I find no definite legend till we touch on the horrible story of the Lynotts and the Barretts embodied, so grimly and vigorously, in Sir Samuel Ferguson's *Lays of the Western Gael* as "The Vengeance of the Welshmen of Tirawley." The more brief account found in the *Tribes and Customs of Hy Fiachrach*, by Duald MacFirbis in the mid-seventeenth century is remembered at two places. Tobernascorney, in Carns, where the prototype of the tax assessor slain by Wat Tyler preceded him in a like offence and a like fate, Sgorna bhuid bhearrtha, the Barrett's bailiff, was slain at the "Scrag's Well," is still known. The legend at the ford and stepping-stones of Clochán na ndall (or blind man's crossing) on the river four miles north of Crosmolina in Garranard, across which the blinded Lynotts were left to pass, all save their destined avenger being drowned, has an echo of the tale. I believe the instrument of his crafty vengeance, Tibbot Maol Burke, has (or had) a place in legend at the spot where the Barretts slew him. The verse among the people in 1838 called him "Teabod Mwylee," and showed the place of his death at the ford of Cornassack. "The Barrets" (said the rhyme) "came into the country, they committed an act which was not right; they left the Lynots blind and Teabod Maol in a sack; at the narrow stream of Cornassack." This spot was in Creeves townland, near Ballycastle. People at that time also showed where the Barretts defeated the Lynotts, and blood (in red veins)

[1] *Ordnance Survey Letters, Co. Mayo* (*MSS. R.I. Acad.*), vol. i. p. 342.

was shown ineffaceably marked on a stone long since covered up and now forgotten. The real site of the battle, however, is said to have been in Carn in Moygownach.[1] The date of these tragic events is not, I believe, accurately fixed. MacFirbis[2] adds it as a sort of postscript to his *Hy Fiachrach*. It was probably in the fourteenth century, before the Burkes were established all through the Barretts' lands.

Lynch.—I had not intended to touch on the legends of Galway city but must briefly allude to one so locally famous though a mere variant of a story widespread and as old as the legend of Brutus and his sons. How much truth lies behind it I have been unable to find, as I know of no contemporary records, and the early lists of city magistrates in western Ireland I have found most unreliable, notably in the case of Limerick. It is said to have occurred in 1492, a period of extensive trade and great prosperity in Galway, which has left its mark on the Collegiate Church of St. Nicholas and many other buildings in "The City of the Tribes." The son of the mayor, Lynch, murdered, under aggravated circumstances, a Spaniard with whom he had long been on most friendly terms. His father brought him to trial, his guilt was established, and he was sentenced to death. Then an outburst of horror and pity carried away the minds of the citizens. The stern judge, unmoved by threats and heart-broken entreaties, would not reprieve the prisoner. He got to hear that there was an attempt to rescue his son and (being unable to find anyone to act as executioner) he hanged him, with his own hands, from the window of his house, in presence of the excited, but overawed and horror-stricken, crowd. A tablet, with a skull and cross-bones and a far later date, is reputed to commemorate the event, a modern tablet records the tale; they are set in the ruins of the Lynch house, near St. Nicholas' Church and are familiar to all visitors to the city as well as the earlier and richly elaborate house of the unrelenting magistrate in the principal street.

Inish Bofin.—Guarim and Bosco were two fierce tyrants and

[1] *Ord. Survey Letters*, vol. i. p. 295.

[2] *Genealogies, Tribes and Customs of Hy Fiachrach*, pp. 336-9, ed. John O'Donovan.

pirates living on Inishbofin.[1] The ruin, called "Aittighe Guarim," near Bunnamullen Bay, was levelled to supply material for the priest's house before 1839, the late Mr. Cyril Allies (whose kindness to me when on the island I must recall) tells me that a quern was dug up on its site in recent years, before 1911; whether, as on Torry Island, this had been set in the foundation for luck or a propitiatory act I could not learn. Guarim's castle stood on high ground near the new Church of St. Colman, but had been levelled before the earlier named date. Guarim is said to have been "a certain old chief" who quarrelled with the monks of St. Colman's monastery, refusing to pay tithes to them. Not content with this, he laid an ambuscade, captured six monks, and put them to death in the townland of Middle Quarter, where their blood still is said to rise from the ground on the anniversary of their slaughter. This sacrilege was too much even for the millstone consciences of his followers; they bound him and brought him to Renvyle Castle, on the opposite mainland, where he was tried and condemned and chained to a rock for the tide to drown. Since then it is said that none of his family, now "Gorham," can enter the priesthood. When the new church was built in recent years the legend took an entirely new form, that a bishop had been drowned in a similar manner by the Cromwellian garrison. Older legends varied in making Guarim, some, a contemporary of St. Colman of Lindisfarne, A.D. 664, others of Grania Uaile nine centuries later.

Bosco, whose castle was supposed to be embodied in "Cromwell's Barracks," was another tyrant and pirate, a Dane or a Spaniard. He stretched a chain from a rock across the mouth of the harbour to protect the ships of himself and the sea-queen Grania Uaile. He planted a cannon on another rock, still called "the Gun Rock," for their further protection, and used to throw his prisoners into the sea through an embrasure, still shown, in the "Barracks." He buried his vast treasures in the fortress and set a spirit to guard it. When even a priest ventured to

[1] See Dr. Charles R. Browne, "Ethnography of Inishbofin and Inishark," *R.I. Acad. Proc.* vol. iii. ser. iii. pp. 360-363; *Ord. Survey Letters*, vol. i. p. 484; and *Clare Island Survey*, p. 68.

dig in the court of the ruin a voice from underground told him, in Irish, to stop, and he gave up the search.[1]

The legend of the white cow is so out of relation with all history that I reserve it for a later section on supernatural animals.

Aran.—Save the legends of the saints I got no quasi history in Aran save that Cromwell's soldiers levelled the Round Tower (which really fell in a gale) and the churches, at Killeany. In 1878 no legends were told of the forts, even of the gigantic Dún Aengusa and Dun Conchobhair. One man said Dun Oghil (Eochla) "may have been made by the Danes." In the Middle Island the vast prehistoric Dun Conor was attributed to King Conor O'Brien about 1260. In 1839 O'Donovan (who was too fond of generalizing on isolated facts) said the last man who knew the name of the first huge fortress was one Wiggins, of Cromwellian descent, who knew it as "Dun Innees," but I see no reason to doubt that the forms "Aun Donguis" (1825), "Dun Unguish," or "Unguist" (in 1858), and "Dun Aingus" or "Aineez" (in 1878) are genuine traditional names (not book-names) despite the great scholar's assertion.

Grania Uaile.

Grania Uaile[2] (O'Malley), "Grace O'Malley" or "Granny Weal!" is a favourite in local tradition in the Islands of Achill, Clare and Bofin. The "famous feminine sea-captain" (as the Elizabethan soldiers called her) was an ally and friend of the British Government, but, by a strange perversion of tradition, she has become in ballad poetry a great patriot and in English tradition an assertor of equality with the Tudor Lioness herself. Grainne looms large in local tradition from Doonáh, on Blacksod

[1] I have collected this material in the *Clare Island Survey*, pp. 68 and 69. See also Dr. Browne in *Proc. R.I. Acad.* vol. iii. ser. iii. under the account of Inishbofin.

[2] For her legends I may refer to MacParlan's *Statistical Survey of Co. Mayo* (1802), p. 136 at Rockfleet, p. 138 at Dunah; *O.S. Letters, Mayo*, vol. i. p. 165; *Clare Island Survey*, part 2, pp. 18, etc.; *Proc. R.I. Acad.* vol. v. ser. iii. p. 67; Dr. Charles Browne's "Ethnography," *ibid.*; *Ethnography of Ballycroy*, vol. iv. ser. iii. p. 106; *Here and There Through Ireland* (Miss Banim), part 1, p. 138; and Caesar Otway, *Tour in Connaught*, pp. 287-294.

Bay, to Rockfleet, Clew Bay, and Clare Island, and even to Dungrania on Inishbofin. No record shows that she had any connection with these places save with Rockfleet, or Carrigahowley, a lonely rude little peel tower, on a low shore, looking out to the crowd of whale-backed islets in Clew Bay, reputed to equal in number the days of the year.[1] Her father, however, owned Cliara, or Clare Island—I must abstract her history for comparison with the folk-tales. Grainne ni Mhaille, or "na gcearbach"[2] (of the gamblers), was daughter of Dubhdara Ua Mhaille, "chief of Upper Owle O'Malley," "the Ooles," Umhail, or the part of Murrisk Barony south of Clew Bay. Her mother, Margaret, was daughter of Conoghor O'Malley. Grainne first married Donnell O'Flaherty, chief of Connemara, and secondly Richard "an Iarainn" Bourke, chief of Carra and Burrishoole, on the north side of the bay, who had succeeded Sir John Bourke as "the MacWilliam Eighter" and died in 1583. Grania first appears in history as driving away a fleet sent to blockade Carrigahowley in 1572. Two years later Sir Henry Sidney writes of a visit to him from "a most famous feminine sea-captain called Granny Imally," her husband, too, was with her, but quite overshadowed by his formidable spouse; she offered the services of three galleys and 200 men. In 1577 she was captured by Gerald Earl of Desmond (why or how is not related), who gave her to the safe-keeping of Drury, the Lord Justice, and she was imprisoned for a year and a half in Dublin Castle. Strange to say, her friendship to the English dates from this time, and, when her husband rebelled against them, she helped Malby to harass him.[3] Stranger yet, she was reconciled to MacWilliam, and lived with him till his death, three years later. She established her residence at Carrigahowley and was suspected by the government of aiding her husband's

[1] They are called "378 islands" on fourteenth and fifteenth century portolan maps.

[2] So called in a contemporary poem on Shane O'Doherty, which O'Donovan regarded as the one contemporary record of Grainne (*O.S. Letters*, vol. ii. p. 249), but the Hardiman map, No. 1, *temp.* Eliz. records "O'Male Grani."

[3] Sir R. Bingham calls her "Grany Maly a notable traitress and nurse to all rebellions in Connacht for 40 years" (*Cal. State Prs. Ireld.* 1593, No. 18).

"tribe" in 1586. She next got into trouble for raiding Aran (an O'Brien settlement) in Galway Bay, at the instigation of the O'Flaherties, her first husband's kindred. It was proved, however, that she did not know that peace was made, and the government overlooked her mistake, and, with fatal weakness, let O'Flaherty seize the Aran Isles from their consistently loyal ally, O'Brien, whose family, from 1380, had kept Galway Bay clear from pirates.[1] The merchants of Galway vainly petitioned to have their friend and protector restored, for they feared the O'Flaherties above all their neighbours, and cut a prayer over their west gate: "From the bloodthirsty O'Flaherties good Lord deliver us."

In 1593 she went to England as a humble suppliant to the queen for her O'Flaherty son and grandson and her two sons by Bourke. Her son, Owen, by her first husband, Donnell "Ichoggy" O'Flaherty, was killed, it seems, on a false alarm that he was about to be rescued, but her second son, Murrogh, and his son, Donnell, were alive. Her petition tells much about her wild and checkered career and (naturally) emphasizes her services to the Crown.[2] The other numerous allusions to Grainne tell us little of interest, and the dates of her birth and death are unrecorded. Her son, Theobald or "Tibbot" Bourke, called "na long" (of the ship), was knighted and was a person of influence in his remote district in the reign of James I. He left a long line of descendants in the Earls of Mayo.[3]

Turning to her legends, the agreement with and divergences from her history are very instructive, none the less that they lie about as far from her period as the introduction of Christianity into Ireland does from the tales in the earliest sagas relating to Tara and Munster in the second century, though in earlier times the existence of a professional class of "druids and historians" favoured clear recollection had we only the tales as told in the fifth century. Still, in the more recent instance

[1] See James Hardiman's *History of Galway*.

[2] *Cal. State Prs. Irld.* 1593, No. 62.

[3] See paper by Mr. Hubert T. Knox, *Galway Archeol. and Hist. Soc.* vol. iv. p. 65.

we can see that much truth can survive in a primitive society from three centuries earlier.[1]

In 1838 an old man, Henelly, of Ballintubber, gave the following account.[2] Grania Uaile " na gcearbhach " got her name because she kept a troop of professional dicers and gamblers among her servants. She married John Burke of Glen Ilan and had a son, Tibbot na long. She was a pirate and a wanderer, and on the day of Tibbot's birth her ship was attacked by Turks. Her crew lost heart and sent to her for help ; she cursed them, rose from her sick bed, tied a blanket round her, and sprang on deck jumping and dancing with a " blunderbush " in each hand. The Turks stopped to look at her and she fired into a knot of their officers, shot them all, boarded and took their ship, and hanged their survivors at Carrigahowley—so her son got his nickname from the place of his birth. She besieged O'Loughlin of Burren, Co. Clare, and was nearly hit by a cannon ball before she put him to flight, it cut up the ground under her feet as she leaped up and cursed the gunner. She reduced most of Connacht by the aid of the Bourkes and died a natural death after all.

There is another long, uninteresting legend of her attempt to take tribute from the MacAwleys, or the Stauntons ; of her capture of Kinturk, and her repulse from Luppertaun Castle. A mass of equally dull legends of Tibbot na Long were told, and at Doonáh she was said to have married six husbands. Dunanierin (Dookeeghan) Castle on Broadhaven is said to have been built by and called after her husband Ricard an Iarainn.[3]

About the same time Caesar Otway [4] gathered another legend in Murrisk. Grania was daughter of " Breamhaun Crone O'Malley," chief of " the Uisles of O'Mealy." He died leaving her along with her infant brother, so the tribe elected her as their chief. She built " the Hen's Castle " or " Cashlaun na

[1] *Ordnance Survey Letters, Mayo, loc. cit.*

[2] It must be remembered that the *Calendars of State Papers* were not published for many years later, and probably are unknown in West Clare and N.W. Connacht to this day.

[3] *Ord. Survey Letters, Mayo*, vol. i.

[4] *Tour in Connaught*, (1889), pp. 229-245.

Kirka"; thither she carried off the son of the Earl of Howth, because the earl kept his castle gate shut on her. Her husband, an O'Flaherty, was called "the Cock," she encouraged him in his wars with the Joyces and was known as "the Hen"; the Joyces hemmed them in (the castle being in a lake), made a causeway, stormed the tower and killed all its inmates save Grania, who escaped. On her husband's death she married MacWilliam Eighter (as Richard an Iarainn Burke was called), "for a year certain" and then either could dismiss the other. When she had got her partizans into all his castles she went to her own tower at Carrigahowley. Sir Richard came to see her and she looked out of the window and cried "I dismiss you," so her second marriage ended.[1] She sided with "Bingham" against the Burkes and helped the English. In gratitude, Queen Elizabeth asked her to court, where she behaved as a sister queen. She refused to be made a countess, but accepted an earldom for her little "English-blooded son, Toby of the ships." Some said it was on her return that she visited Howth Castle. Her favourite residence was on Clare Island, where she kept her fleetest galleys with their cables tied to her bed post. In 1808 MacParlan tells the same of her at Rockfleet, "Grace of the heroes kept the cable of her favourite barge fastened to her bed post there." She was a great friend of the English and fought against her husband.

On Clare Island[2] in 1910 I found (as Dr. Charles Browne did in 1897[3]) many stories about her. She is said to have made an unrecorded marriage with a young man whom she had saved from a wreck and who fell madly in love with his preserver. They were married at the *Station*, holy well of Toberfelabrid, by its priest, and lived very happily for some years. At last

[1] The same is told of Maura Rhue (O'Brien) of Lemaneagh, Co. Clare (*supra*, vol. xxiv. p. 494). Grania says in her petition that husbands sometimes divorced their wives without legal process in Connacht (*Cal. State Papers, Ireland*, 1593, No. 62).

[2] *Ord. Survey Letters, Mayo*, vol. i. pp. 1-9, and vol. ii. pp. 249-264; *Clare Isld. Survey*, p. 40.

[3] "Ethnography of Clare Island and Inishturk" (Dr. Charles R. Browne), *Proc. R.I.A.* ser. iii. vol. v. p. 67, etc.

a feud arose between the O'Malleys and the MacMahons of Ballycroy. The latter surprised the former at a deerhunt in Achill and Grainne's husband fell in an ambuscade. The young widow vowed vengeance and bided her time. Hearing from an Erris man that the MacMahons were under a curse for killing a young man on Achill, and, for penance, had to go to Caher Island, she manned her ships and lay hidden behind the island till the penitents had landed. She then cut them off and made a fearful slaughter, bringing the survivors, including her husband's slayer, to Clare Island, where she hanged them. She then sailed on to Ballycroy, denuded of its defenders, and took and retained Doonáh Castle, putting its garrison to the sword. This story in a shorter form is also told at Doonáh and seems a more probable version of the Turkish ship story.

She loved the castle on Clare Island [1] and kept her ships in the harbour near it, and when she died she was buried in the abbey near it, where the well-cut (later) slab with the O'Maille arms and crest and the motto "Terra marique potens" marks the spot.[2] A human skull with golden earrings in it! was long shown as hers; it seems to be forgotten. Otway tells a wonderful tale of the abbey being cleared of bones by manure manufacturers from Glasgow and of an eye tooth and one of the earrings being found next year in a turnip; but Otway was quite capable of "brightening" his pleasant little books by new work as well as by varnishing old legends.[3]

At Inishbofin (as we saw) Grainne was an ally of the formidable pirates, Bosco and Guarhim, her "castle" was on the long prehistoric rock fort called Dún Grainne. But it shows no late foundations of any kind.[4]

[1] *Clare Island Survey*, part 2, p. 37. See also Otway's *Tour in Connaught*, p. 298, and *R. Soc. Antt. Ir.* vol. xxv. pp. 244-5. The views in the last two by Otway and Wakeman poor and inaccurate.

[2] *Clare Island Survey*, part 2, plate i.

[3] *Tour in Connaught*, p. 301.

[4] *Ord. Survey Letters, Mayo*, vol. i. p. 484, however, says: "Grania's *dún* from Grania Wael Ny Maley" was a castle and still traceable. This is evidently wrong, but O'Donovan did not visit the island, and took his information unchecked from a very careless informant.

At Doonáh, near Ballycroy, we hear of a fight in the courtyard, and how Grainne killed the MacMahons and kept the tower; others said she had built the castle.

O'Donovan [1] supposed her to be "the Lady of the Reeks," *i.e.* Munchin (who gave her name to the river between Bangor Erris and Dundonnell), the faithless wife of Domnall Duailbuidhe; but the latter is clearly Flidhais, co-heroine (with her cow) of the "Taín bo Flidhais" [2] at the beginning of our era, and one of his far too frequent guesses in the hasty and (it must be remembered) unrevised Ordnance Survey "Letters."

Formerly the people of Burrishoole showed her burial place in their "abbey," and from the neighbourhood of Rockfleet Castle, her known residence, I incline to accept their assertion. They show the hole in Rockfleet Castle through which the cable of her favourite galley used to be drawn.

In Irish literature, Maxwell's novel, *The Dark Lady of Doonah*, has secured the claim of that tower to be her special home. The tall corner alone remains on the desolate creeks on Blacksod Bay, one of the few landmarks of the featureless roads from Mulranny to Bangor; most of the tower fell early in the last century by the accidental burning of a turf (peat) stack in its undervault. Rockfleet and Cliara and another reputed castle (certainly held by the Ui Mhaille and dating about 1470) on Achill Sound, keep her memory green as the terrible sea-queen, the friend and rival of the royal "Red Hag" (Elizabeth)—"Terra marique potens."

Doubtful and Later Legends.

Unlike Counties Clare, Kerry and Antrim, the Armada legends (so far as I can learn) hardly exist along the Connacht shore.[3] At most a feeble legend remains without details; about the layer of human bones under the sand and coarse vegetation on Sligo Bay, where, as history tells us, the most fearful destruction of the persecuted fleet took place. The shore was heaped with 1300 bodies, stripped by the excited natives and

[1] *Ord. Survey Letters, Co. Mayo*, vol. i. [2] *Supra*, vol. xxvii. p. 101.

[3] The Co. Clare legends are given *supra*, vol. xxiv. pp. 490-493.

fed on by the starving wolves in sight of the few survivors.[1] One ship, the "Rata Coronada," was wrecked in Blacksod Bay, the crew was taken off. There, too, a feeble, few-word tradition lingered if not derived from some book; the same is true of Clare Island, where the very dryness of the tale favours the genuineness. Doonáh tradition mentions a ship which lay near the castle for some time. There is said to be a great hoard of Spanish gold on Davillaun—two weird little rocky islets at the mouth of Blacksod Bay. Some claim to know where it is hidden and say that big ships from Spain were wrecked there.

The visit of "Black Tom"—Thomas, Earl of Strafford, the hapless Lord Deputy, the exponent of "Thorough"—is faintly remembered at Bunowen Castle, which he visited in 1637. Local story says the owner, Morogh na Mart (O'Flaherty), was absent, attacking his enemies of Galway city, but his people took his place, and gave such warm, if rude, cheer and welcome that, when Morogh hurried back, the earl knighted him. Alas "favour is deceitful"; Black Tom had noted all his host's property and seized on the whole. The tomb of Sir Morogh O'Flaherty, in 1666, is shown in St. Enda's Church near Arkin in Aranmore.

Of Cromwell and his soldiers the usual chaos is "remembered." He (or his men) hunted, in the Mullet, a priest, surprised as he celebrated the Mass. The priest fled with the vestments, vessels and Host to the shore, whence there was no escape; the shouting soldiers, in full sight of their victim, saw the rock split and turn seaward, bending so as to shelter him from their musket shots till they went away and he was rescued by his flock. It is told of three places on the Mullet, at Doonadearg, at a rock near Dunnamo, and at Leimataggart (Priest's Leap), the northern, and, from its name, the most probable.

It is more than possible that some priest actually escaped by hiding in some cranny, or under some ledge, of the rock. Priest-taking records abound among the Cromwellian papers at Dublin, and colonies of the unfortunate men were kept under watch of the garrisons of Inishbofin and Aran on those islands. Soldiers were sent to pay surprise visits and destroy

[1] See Capt. Cuellar's account.

boats along the coasts and may well have done as stated in the Mullet. The "high and bending heads" of the rocks at the three places added an embellishment to the tale, not unknown elsewhere, in *Lives* of the saints. The others were probably due to transference of the legend for story-loving sightseers, the north site being only accessible by a long drive and weary walk through marshes and over crags. Little was told at Cromwell's Barracks at Inishbofin, and that little confuses the Puritans with the tales of Bosco and Guarim. The new legend, started at the rebuilding of the church near the castle, was an old tale of Bosco, furbished up to excite popular interest in the work. Even the most redundant martyrologist of the time knows it not. In Aran, at "Cromwell's Barracks," Arkin, I only heard in 1878 that it was built from the material of the (five) destroyed "seven churches" and the Round Tower; the first most probable, the last false. Loch Curafin [1] in Mayo owed its origin to a Cromwellian massacre of a priest and his congregation. The horrified earth sank and filled with dark red water, ever fretting "the lake water lapping in low sounds on the shore," on even the calmest day, and the fish never taking a fly.

I must again briefly transgress my original rule to recall some traditions of the expulsion of the religious bodies in Galway city. The Dominican nuns were aided by a merchant to escape to Spain. Two returned in more peacable times and were again expelled, but their ghosts joined the worshippers in their ruined church. One person showed a large chest where a nun was hidden for many days and only escaped in a fisherman's clothes. Another ghostly nun walks through the walled-up door of the Lady Chapel every Friday. She was murdered (by Cromwell's soldiers, some said) in the stone hall and was buried in the vaults below. The Puritans also drove the Franciscan nuns, at the point of the sword, to drown them in Loch Corrib, but the intended victims found they could walk on the water and so escaped to Nun's Island. Later on an English officer, who had been saved by the Irish and held the nunnery, let its old owners return and go through an underground passage to wor-

[1] *Proc. R.I. Acad.* vol. iv. ser. iii. p. 106.

ship in the church. Their ghosts are sometimes seen walking along the river bank in the evening.

The "Red Pedlar's grave" near Knockatemple Church in Erris has (or had) a legend, told fully by W. Maxwell in *Wild Sports of the West*. I did not hear it locally nor is the supposed date of the events known. In the neighbouring mountains (I hear) a carn of "Fair David," a famous robber, is shown. He was hunted down and killed, about 200 years ago. His monument is called (phonetically) "Lacht Dahya bawn," on top of Corsleive Mountain. There are also legends of the migration of certain existing families from Tirconnell to Ballycroy. They came by sea to Fahy, near Doonáh Castle, and included MacSweenys, O'Clerys, O'Gallaghers, MacNamaras, Conways and O'Friols. This probably refers to the mid-seventeenth century, as does that of the O'Tooles from Wicklow to Inishturk.

Otway[1] heard, near Killala, from old people about an "Abbot" in his vestments at Moyne "Abbey" (a beautiful Franciscan convent); "Abbey" and "Abbot," like "Doctor" and "Esquire," are terms used carelessly in Ireland. "Moyne Abbey was a grand place entirely—what must it have been before Luther and Calvin or the curse of Cromwell fell on it?" "I could hear old ancient people say it would be worth twenty miles walking to hear Mass then in the Abbey with the grand Abbot in his vestments and all the friars." Old people often tell as their own memories of matters long before their fathers' recollections, as I once demonstrated by showing that an old man of vaunted memory was "personally recollecting" events nearly two centuries before the time of our meeting. "There was a great Abbot, one Lynch, or Laheen, from Galway, he was full of learning." He ruled over St. Dechin's Abbey at Kilroe and "used to walk there twice a week from Moyne by way of penance." The protestant bishop (of Killala) O'Toway asked him to come to his castle and refresh himself, but he said he had to return, "I must be with my Maker e'er night." The bishop asked how he could be so certain, where he had no sign of sickness, but the Abbot went on, and his would-be host, a kind-hearted man, sent next day to enquire for him. The

[1] *Erris and Tyrawley*, p. 192.

monks said that at the Abbot's request they had drawn him round the building as a penance and that he was now dead. There was in fact a pious Roman Catholic Bishop of Galway named John Lynch, author of *Cambrensis Eversus*, and a good-natured protestant Bishop of Killala (Otway or Otoway) banished by Cromwell, and Bishop of Killala in 1670, who rebuilt the Cathedral and was loved by all classes. He was translated to Ossory in 1697; what other facts lie behind the legend are unknown to me. It was said at Killala that the protestant bishop left the place on account of a curse or prophecy of Abbot Lynch. In fact they long after resided there, notably the one who unwillingly entertained the French officers in 1798 and made them such mirth by saying grace.

This brings us to the 1798 landing of the French. The tales at Kilcummin are valueless, being made to supply the demand of uncritical enthusiasts on the centenary of the landing. One old man, produced to us that latter year, said *he* remembered "them" landing "from three big steamers," probably some thirty years before he was born. Unfortunately, I could get no record of what was said before the place was "exploited" and spoiled for ever.

Far different was the tradition of the too-true event in 1798 at Downpatrick Head; it was well attested. Otway [1] heard it from contemporaries in 1838 and I heard it two generations later as he heard it. During a yeomanry raid, in 1798, the men of the district successfully concealed themselves in the tidal sea-gallery of the "Poulashantana." An old woman was to let down a ladder, through the great pit in its roof, when all was safe; but the yeomanry, suspicious at only finding old men, women, and boys about, lingered in the neighbourhood, and after nightfall it was too late: the tide was in, and all the young and mature men of the place floated in the dark tunnel drowned.

At Dunminulla fort, near Portacloy, a protestant, aided by a native foster-brother, took refuge on the lofty and hardly accessible platform of the great headland. He and his house-

[1] *Erris and Tyrawly*, pp. 216-218. See for full description of Downpatrick Head and its legends *Roy. Soc. Antt. Ireland*, vol. xliii. p. 101.

hold built *boolies*, and food was brought by his preserver till the danger was overpast. It was faintly "remembered" by old people on my visit as told by their elders, but the details are forgotten.

Between the vanishing and (what is worse) the corruption of Irish folk-tales in recent years I am anxious to record even such a fragmentary collection as I have been able to make. I am careful to give my doubts and any facts telling against the genuine character of the tales, and can only hope that for the known imperfection and for many possible errors of judgment readers may forgive one whose earnest endeavour has been to give unvarnished versions of these waifs of the past and to avoid that bane of Irish folk-tales, the desire "to make a good story of them all."

T. J. Westropp.

The Cursing of Venezelos.

(Vol. xxviii. 133 *et seqq.*)

I venture to add to Sir James Frazer's account of cursing by stone-flinging two examples, one from Arabia, the other from India.

In his *Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to Al-Madinah and Mecca* (ed. 1893, ii. 202 *et seqq.*) Sir R. Burton describes the rite practised at the Jamrat al-Akabah (*jamrah* meaning "a place of stoning," as well as the stones used) where pilgrims fling stones at the pillars known as Shaytān al-Kabīr, "The Great Satan"; Wusta, or "The Central Place (of stoning)"; and Al-Aula, or "The First Place." The pilgrim, holding in succession seven stones between the thumb and forefinger of the right hand, casts them at one of the pillars, exclaiming: "In the name of Allah, and Allah is Almighty! (I do this) in Hatred of the Fiend and to his Shame." After this he repeats the Tahlil: "There is no Deity but Allah!" and the Sana, or Praise of Allah. Hence Satan or Shaytān is known to Musalmāns as "The Stoned or Lapidated." (Sir R. Burton, *The Book of the Thousand Nights and a Night*, ed. 1893, iv. 157.)

Sudderan, son of Rāja Rām, a noble youth, was falsely

accused by one of his father's wives of making an attempt on her virtue. Hearing of this, his father attacked him with a drawn sword, and he, in order to save his father from the sin of murder, prayed for immediate death. He disappeared in the ground, and a pillar of clay rose from the spot, and out of it a supernatural voice proclaimed his innocency. Down to the present day pilgrims, after shaving their heads, do the triple circumambulation (*pradakshina*) of Sudderan's column, always keeping it on their right. After this they cast seven clods or brick-bats at the adjoining tomb of his father, muttering curses on its occupant. Burton thinks that this is copied from the Arab rite mentioned above; but this seems to be doubtful. (R. F. Burton, *Sind Revisited*, London, 1877, ii. 85 ff.)

W. Crooke.

Easter Eggs in Scotland.

(Vol. xxvii., p. 94.)

The Easter Egg custom is more widespread than is shown in the "Catalogue of Brand Material." I used to roll dyed eggs on "Egg Monday" when I was a boy in Ross and Cromarty, and we had an "Egg Sunday." We afterwards burned whin and searched for shellfish. In Edinburgh here I find the dyed eggs are rolled in Bruntsfield Links. The custom was quite common all over Scotland until recently. It has been stamped out by unimaginative school teachers and parsons.

Donald A. Mackenzie.

Begging on St. Thomas's Day.

(*Ante*, pp. 300, 301).

Mumping or Begging Day has been observed in North Devon within my recollection. The agricultural labourers' wives in the remote districts would call at the different farmhouses in the neighbourhood for a penny.

For Bradninch, *Dorset*, read *Devon* (p. 303).

Bruce McWilliams.

Goat and Cows.

The following has been sent by a correspondent from Dorset: "I had often read and heard of the old superstition that a goat turned in with the cows that are in calf would prevent them from slipping calf, and I actually saw this in a field—a goat running with a lot of calves, and was told this was the usual practice to ward off the evil eye!"

J. J. Foster.

Notes on English Folk-lore.

Derbyshire.—The Bedfordshire Nursery Rhymes, published in Vol. xxvi., p. 413 *et seq.*, bring to my mind one that is obviously a variant of it, which I heard as a child in the small village of Turnditch in Derbyshire. We used to sing it to a simple tune:

1. This old man, he went one,
   He went nick-nack on my thumb.

   Refrain—
   Tommy nick-nack, nick-nack, sing a song,
   And this old man came toddling along.

2. This old man, he went two,
   He went nick-nack on my shoe.

3. This old man he went three,
   He went nick-nack on my knee.

4. This old man, he went four,
   He went nick-nack on my door.

5. This old man, he went five,
   He went nick-nack on my beehive.

6. This old man, he went six,
   He went nick-nack on my sticks.

7. This old man, he went seven,
   He went nick-nack up to Heaven.

Presumably that was the end of him, for I don't remember that the rhyme went any further.

There must have been an Essex variant, for only a few weeks ago the children in the playground of one of the Leyton Council Schools were singing:

"Nick-nack, paddy wack, give a dog a bone,
And this old man came rolling home."

CELIA A. BARKER.

NOTES ON STAFFORDSHIRE FOLKLORE.

Foxgloves an Omen of War.—The summer of 1914 was a record one for foxgloves, regarding which an old man remarked, "I don't like them, missus; they mean war. Them foxgloves is soldiers."

Cuckoos.—The number of times a cuckoo calls when heard the first time denotes the number of years before the hearer will be married.

Omen from Umbrellas.—To pick up an umbrella dropped by yourself means a disappointment.

Omens from Knives.—To drop a knife is a sign that a gentleman is coming to the house. To hand anything on a knife means bad luck.

Wearing Green.—If you wear green you will go into mourning.

Marriage Omen.—Take one hair from your head, thread a finger-ring on it, and hold it over a tumbler half full of water. The number of times it touches the side shows how many years will pass before the holder's wedding.

RUTH HODSON.

The Laurels, Walsall Road, Lichfield.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Witchcraft in Great Britain.

(*Ante*, pp. 228-258.)

It is a matter of much regret to me that I was unable to hear Miss Murray's striking paper on the *Organization of Witches in Great Britain*, on the 18th April last. Miss Murray's evidence of the existence of secret societies for the practice of pagan cults entirely accords with Grimm's ascription of the origin of mediaeval witchcraft to the secret practice of heathen rites by persons who remained true to the ancient faith. (*Deutsche Mythologie*. 1007.) The suffix *craft* itself implies an organized society for the performance of "mysteries," whether merely technical or *quasi*-religious.

With regard to Miss Murray's last paragraph on page 248, may I draw her attention to Sir John Rhys's discussion of the ancient Celtic seasonal year, in his *Hibbert Lectures* (1886). Sir James Frazer's deduction that this division of the year dates from a period "when the Celts were mainly a pastoral people dependent for their subsistence on their herds," is natural and probable. The same division still affects rustic life in many ways. Especially does it regulate the life of the cattle, who migrate from stall to pasture and from pasture to stall at the beginning of May and the beginning of November respectively, even in England at the present day.

Charlotte S. Burne.

REVIEWS.

Folk-Beliefs in the Balkan Peninsula.

Balkan Home-Life. By Lucy M. J. Garnett. Pp. 309. Price 10s. 6d. net. London: Methuen & Co. Ltd. 1917.

At present the Balkan Peninsula has special interest for many of us, and this elaborate account of the home-life of its four chief races—Greeks, Albanians, Bulgarians and Osmanli Turks—is timely. The Author's knowledge of the people is wide, but she fully admits the difficulty of exploring the beliefs of the many races which are included in the population. "It would prove a stupendous if not an impossible task to collect all the folk-beliefs and customs of the Balkan Greeks and their neighbours. . . . One generally learns them only by transgressing them." As an example, she tells of the horror expressed when she took into the house a little owlet which she found outside her window. It is the bird of death, and sure enough, soon after the family pet kid was found dead in the garden.

The "Old Religion" still survives with undiminished power, and, in spite of the veneer of doctrine and ritual prescribed by the Greek Church or by Islam, has a profound influence over the people. This is shown throughout the interesting survey of the life from cradle to grave. The Nereids, like our fairies, come out of their springs at night, steal babies, and leave changelings in their stead. "The Greek inhabitants of a village near Salonika relate that companies of Nereids may often be seen dancing in the moonlight on the adjacent seashore, and are careful to give a wide berth to these haunts of the 'Outlanders.'" Gifts must be given to the Fates and a libation poured to Mother Earth to save children from harm. The Evil

Eye belief extends widely. The Kouchedra dries up the spring as the traveller seeks a drink; Peris and Dogsucklers beset his path; if he drinks from certain rivers he becomes a were-wolf. The Nereids bring bad weather, and when it thunders they are scared by ringing the church bells. The custom of temporary burial of the dead within the European area is interesting. After three years the body is exhumed; if "the earth has eaten him," the bones are taken to the church; if the corpse is undecayed, the man is believed to be a vampire.

Of the Wallachs Miss Garnett writes: "A singular rite of purely Latin origin is now performed by the bride as she is lifted from her horse at the threshold; butter or honey is handed to her, with which she proceeds to anoint the door, signifying that she brings with her into the house peace, plenty and joy. The word *uxor*, originally *unxor*, is derived from *ungere*, 'to anoint.'" It is very doubtful if this custom is of Latin origin, and the suggested derivation seems to be a folk etymology. I learn on the best authority that the word probably means "she who grows in size." Pliny, by the way, says that the bride should anoint the door with the fat of a wolf, possibly as a protective.

Miss Garnett has given us an excellent and instructive book. Its value for students would have been increased if she had given us some indication of the source from which her materials were derived, and if she had provided an adequate index.

W. Crooke.

Books for Review should be addressed to
The Editor of *Folk-Lore*,
c/o Messrs. Sidgwick & Jackson, Ltd.
Adam St., Adelphi, London, W.C.

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